IMPORTANT
SPEECHES OF
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

BEING A COLLECTION OF MOST SIGNIFICANT SPEECHES DELIVERED BY JAWAHARLAL NEHRU FROM 1922 TO 1946

Second Revised & Enlarged Edition

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EDITED BY
JAGAT S. BRIGHT, M.A.

Second Revised Enlarged Edition

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LIFE OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU—In Words & Pictures
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU—A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY
JAWAHARLAL AND HIS IDEAS
IMPORTANT SPEECHES & WRITINGS OF SUBHAS BOSE
SUBHAS BOSE & HIS IDEAS

Selections from Mahatma Gandhi

EDITED BY JAG PARVESH CHANDER

TEACHINGS OF MAHATMA GANDHI
(*Foreword by Babu Rajendra Prasad*)
TAGORE AND GANDHI ARGUE
ETHICS OF FASTING
GITA THE MOTHER
THE UNSEEN POWER
THE GOOD LIFE
GANDHI AGAINST FASCISM
THE CONGRESS CASE (*Foreword by Mr. K. M. Munshi*

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Jawaharlal in western dress speaking to the people of the West in London.



All India States People's Conference at Ludhiana. A characteristic study of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru while he was delivering his speech on the occasion of the States People's Conference. Dated : 17—2—39.

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"We worked for the dawn, but the long night has continued, and it may continue . . . . how long I do not know. Many of us now in the vanguard of the nation's fight may not live to see the dawn. But the dawn will come. Meanwhile, the torch has got to be kept burning to light the path. And I want to know how many brave arms are there amongst you to take this torch from my failing hand. Be worthy of the charge."

Jawaharlal Nehru

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

THE author owes a word of thanks to the reading public for their cordial reception to the first edition which has been entirely sold out within a few months of its publication. He has the pleasure to present the reader with the second edition which has been greatly enlarged and thoroughly revised and edited with a creative psychological interest.

Here are some of the improvements which have been effected in the second edition :—

(1) While the First Edition had only thirty speeches, the Second Edition comprises a range of over one hundred and sixty speeches.

(2) Wherever found necessary to avoid recurring repetitions and reiteration of ideas, just as in the war speeches of Jawaharlal (1939—42), concise precis reports have been substituted.

(3) The speeches have been re-arranged and re-edited with tremendous labour and thought in order to bring out a steady development in the growth of Jawaharlal's ideas and put them into a psychological correlation with the traits of his personality.

(4) The introduction has been revised and refreshed so as to serve a golden key to the mysteries of the great man as exhibited through his public utterances.

(5) The whole book has been thoroughly revised and the omissions and commissions of the first edition have been eliminated as far as it is humanly possible.

(6) The last section of the book includes all the speeches that were delivered by Jawaharlal while the book was in the Press, so as to give it a last-minute perfection. This brings us right to the auspicious moment when Jawaharlal saddled the Interim Government and delivered his historic broadcast to the Indian Nation.

J. S. B.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

THE speeches of Jawaharlal are not utterances of flimsy propaganda. These speeches embody an eternal and unquenchable flame of civilization, because the patriotism of the great Indian patriot does not flow in narrow channels. He thinks of India with reference to world affairs and he thinks of the world with reference to the Indian politics. Consequently Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is not merely a leader of India but, even more than Mahatma Gandhi, the most rational leader of humanity.

The utterances of Jawaharlal are a first-class literature of the English language. The fire of John Bright and the fervour of Edmund Burke pours out of them. And like Bright and Burke, Nehru thinks far ahead of his times. He is a political prophet and a prophetic politician. His speeches delivered ten or twenty years before are more true to-day than they were at that time. And every year gives them the clarity and colours of a prismatic rainbow.

It is inexplicable why the speeches of Jawaharlal have not received the attention they deserve in the literary world. When India becomes free, the speeches of Nehru will serve as a text-book in schools and colleges. Consequently, with an honest pride, although conscious of many faults and foibles, I present this invaluable book to the reading public.

India has not only produced a Gandhi, says Lin utang, but also a Jawarharlal Nehru. Nehru is the only star that can stand by the side of a planet with Gandhi's brilliance. Young India worships the rising star.

" It seems to me," says the Chinese philosopher, " that Gandhi is the female spirit, while Nehru is the male spirit guiding India in her struggle for independence." The female principle, he says, is complemented and activated by the male principle. Gandhi is a mystic and mystically effective. Nehru is India's magnetic man of the moment.

" The people listen to Nehru ", says Lin Yutang, " Nehru listens to Gandhi, and Gandhi listens only to God." Thus Nehru is an effective bridge between Gandhi and the people as Gandhi is the only bridge between Nehru and God. That is an enviable position which Jawaharlal occupies in the spiritual hierarchy of India. We must understand Gandhi before we can reach God and we must understand Nehru before we can comprehend Gandhi.

That gives a unique position to the utterances of Jawaharlal Nehru. He is the best interpreter of Mahatma Gandhi and the finest mouthpiece of India's aspirations. In this book we have presented all the best and most important speeches of Jawaharlal since he fell under the fascination of Mahatma Gandhi, cast his lot in with him and adopted non-violence as the guiding star of his life.

As the reader runs through this book he will find a sharp contrast between the mysticism of Gandhi and the materialism of Nehru. Gandhi comes from heaven to earth, Nehru goes from earth to heaven !

Further suggestions and speeches of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru from our readers and patrons and admirers of Pandit Nehru are welcome and will be thankfully accepted by the Publishers.

J. S. B.

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INTRODUCTION

THE intellectual genius of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been universally acknowledged. It is not for no reason that Mahatma Gandhi has chosen to call him his ' Heir-Apparent '. Dr. Harold Laski, Chairman of the British Labour Party, said that there is 'no figure in contemporary politics of greater mobility than he.' The word ' mobility ' expresses the underlying charm of Jawaharlal's ever-flowing fountain of speeches. The cultural experiences which he has harvested in his whirlwind tours are in themselves a great national asset. In whatever he speaks or does, we never miss his personal charm. His political speeches have a personal background as his personality has a political environment. Therefore, it is good to consider the human side of Jawaharlal Nehru before we follow him in his thunderous political tours and hear his noble messages.

I

THE HUMAN SIDE OF JAWAHARLAL

On the occcasion of his fifty-fifth birthday Mr. K. Rama Rao, Editor of the *National Herald* (Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's paper) wrote the following article in the *Hindustan Times* under the time *The Human Side of Jawaharlal Nehru* :—

" I must first explain and apologise. In the editorial columns of the National Herald, we were under instructions not to refer to Jawaharlal Nehru as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It was because he was so deeply and intimately associated with the paper, and that mental habit has stuck on to me.

" To-day he is celebrating his fifty-fifth birthday in a British Jail, where his imprisonment is running into the third year. Unlike Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru has a keen personal appreciation of days and dates. Whenever the birthday of a niece or a nephew, a friend or a colleague falls due, he writes or sends a telegram. It is an English habit, you may say, but it sweetens life to do so.

" Jawaharlal Nehru would not like to be reminded that he is entering on his fifty-fifth year. He would prefer to continue to be Youth Leader. The weight of a grand-fatherhood is not going to bend him down. The Nehrus dislike to be interrogated about their health. They make it their business to be healthy.

" If to be great is to be misunderstood, Jawaharlal is really great. I mean, too, in the smaller things of life. He does by on

means command a divine temper, and he has left a few scars all over India. But perhaps, his victims received the outbursts of his temper on the whole in good humour. When Voltaire slapped an importunate publisher of books and the man began to protest, his Secretary walked up to him to intervene and told the publisher that he should regard it as a great privilege that he had been slapped by the greatest man of Europe then alive.

" Stories of his ebullitions and outbursts of temper can be multiplied. One day, he was to meet a hugecrowd in a village in that hotest of hot districts, Guntur, in Andhra. In order to protect him against heat, a small covering made up of palmyra leaves had been put up just above. He came, looked around and saw the crowd baking in the heat. Immediately he jumped up, threw the covering down, and shouted that he had not gone so " soft " as not to be able to stand the heat. And he went on speaking for an hour or more in that inferno. When he tours the countryside of the U. P., he covers hundreds of miles in a single day, and he speaks at dozens of meetings. He is never tired. He hates the presence of police making bandobust at his meetings. And when he knows that they are taking down notes of his speeches, he speaks at his Congress best in order to spite them.

" Regularity in respect of keeping appointments and engagements is not a very strong point with us. Jawaharlal Nehru is incapable of being anything but regular. It is part of his daily efficiency drive, which he instils into the minds of his fellow-workers. He answers letters scrupulously. If he promises to address a meeting at midnight in winter, he will be there on the stroke of the clock. If he undertakes to turn in an anonymous editoral for the paper, the editor may feel assured that he can take the day off, for the article would surely come in at the promised time. Not many editors can say the same thing about their friends and customers.

" Jawaharlal Nehru's sense of the use of time is very strict. The only slavery he acknowledges is slavery of discipline. It is, I take it, a part of his rationalist outlook. I know instances of his refusal to meet crowds flocking at railway stations to receive him, unless they are properly lined up in rows. He would not address a public meeting, unless it has settled down to pin-drop silence, and he would jump from place to place till all are properly seated, and have got into the mood to listen.

" Jawaharlal Nehru lacks neither moral nor physical courage. In moral courage, if he has a rival or a superior, it can only be Mahatma Gandhi. In physical courage he is of the lion brand. In that famous election of 1937, when the whole cohorts of the Rajah of Bobbili turned out on elephant-back to attack Giri's battalion of buffalo-mounted Congressmen, a royal fight seemed to be certain. Suddenly Jawaharlal jumped into the fray and was going to punch the first elephant and the first man he got near to. Even the mighty men of Bobbili were startled at the courage of a

man who did not have even a danda in his hand. The police who had more to fear from the Minister of Madras who was Giri's rival candidate than the constantly-jail-going Pandit intervened, saying that they could tolerate any excesses that pleased the Bobbili men to commit, but one blow on Jawaharlal Nehru and rifles would get going at the Rajah's men. History has not recorded a greater victory for buffales over elephants.

" Apparently, stand-offish to the extent of being considered a snob, Jawaharlal Nehru is full of the milk of human kindness. To his fellow-workers in the Congress, he is not only the chief but also the Big Brother. A good deal of his time is spent in composing their quarrels and giving them wholesome advice on team work. He employs his time constantly in looking into the details of their lives, and the big and the small deeds of kindness and mercy he does are innumerable. While on active service, he makes no difference between colonel and corporal. If a fellow-worker can ride a horse in a procession, he would rather give it to him than keep it to himself. He looks after the commissariat with the keenness of a quartermaster-general. If a Congress volunteer is ill, he goes to his house and arranges for his treatment. His kindness to animals is almost proverbial. He has a trained equestrian's skill in looking after that noble animal.

" One thing which he hates more than any other is the tremendous waste at our lunches and dinners. You have only to compare the hall after an Indian dinner is over, with a hall after an English dinner and you will realise our criminal tendencies in this matter. We waste more than we eat. I am all out for permanent rationing in this country.

" What is Jawaharlal's religion ? One day an English editor, with whom I was working, spoke to me somewhat like this. "You say Jawaharlal Nehru is a secularist and an atheist. But read his books. How often he makes you think that he is a great believer ! " The truth is, the religion of Jawaharlal is the religion of a scientist, who is struck by awe and wonder at the unity and uniformity of Nature. It is the religion of a poet, who is impressed by the grandeur of the mountain, the calmness of the desert, the loveliness of the forest, the silence of the starry deep. The ultimate One of the Sankhya conception or the Personal Deity of the Bhakti-Margi is not for him. Organised religion he has no use for. He says, ' it invariably becomes a vested interest and thus inevitably a reactionary force opposing change and progress.' He agrees with Romain Rolland that ' Scepticism itself, when it proceeds from vigorous nature true to the core, when it is an expression of strength and not of weakness, joins in the march of the Grand Army of the religious Soul."

" One of the few things for which we can be a little grateful to the British Government is that, by periodically imprisoning our political leaders, it not only gives them much-needed rest-cures but also gives them an opportunity to devote time to things of the spirit.

Friends have been pointing out that Jawaharlal is a much better Hindu to-day than he ever was before. It is because, thanks to the time he has been doing in jail, and also thanks to the guidance of his late brother-in-law, Mr. R. S. Pandit, deep as a scholar and pugnacious as a Brahmin, he has found time to study the Hindu scriptures. Strip them of their accretions, you find in them the true religion after which the human soul has been in incessant quest throughout the ages. It is the Religion of Humanism, and Jawaharlal's is essentially that."

II

WHAT WORLD THINKS OF NEHRU

Mr. Fenner Brockway, Secretary of the Independent Labour Party, London sent the following birthday message when it was being celebrated in London : " I take the view that the greatest changes in history are not due to individual leaders but due to deeper social forces. Nevertheless, leadership is important and sometimes decisive. India is fortunate in having two of the world's greatest men as its leaders. I mean of course Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Nehru. I welcome the opportunity of sending Mr. Nehru a message on his 55th birthday. That he should be in prison is sufficient indictment of the British rule. This wrong is the more intolerable by the fact that in the stature of his ability and personality, he is a giant compared with the little statesmen who keep him in goal. Mr. Amery is a pigmy not only physically but mentally and spiritually compared with him.

"There is no man in the British Cabinet who has knowledge of mankind through the ages and in the present period such as Mr Jawaharlal possesses. There is no man who has so deeply studied all social and political systems—of Russia, Britain, America, Germany—or as Mr. Jawaharlal has done. There is no man who has his bold constructive vision. There is no man who has his strength of character and resolution to face all sacrifices for his ideals. India has reason to be proud of Mr. Jawaharlal, Britain has reason to be ashamed of the statesmen who gaoled him. Perhaps the last word to be said in condemnation of imperialism is that it gives small men power to imprison the great."

The following message was received from Professor Laski, foremost socialist thinker and economist ; " I should like, through you, to send my warm good wishes to Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru on his 55th birthday. I know no figure in contemporary politics of greater nobility than he, and no greater proof of the failure of the British System in India than that he should be in jail instead of being the Prime Minister of Free India. I hope earnestly that I should see this aim fulfilled in a brief time."

Professor Edward Thompson in his message said ; " It is very hard to know what to say about my dear friend Mr. Jawaharlal. As my message I send you, Mr. Jawaharlal, the assurance given to the

Hebrew Prophet, 'Oh man, greatly beloved, fear not; peace be unto thee; be strong; yes, be strong. Go thou thy way till the end of thy days.'

Lord Strabolgi sent his best wishes to Mr. Nehru whom he characterises as a valiant fighter for India's freedom. "I believe," says Lord Strabolgi, " the time is overdue for the unconditional release of Mr. Nehru and other Congress leaders."

Mr. G. Strauss, M. P., a close associate of Sir Stafford Cripps sent the following message : " I would like to convey my warmest congratulations to Pandit Nehru on his fifty-fifth birthday. I had the privilege of meeting him several times in London when I learnt to appreciate his great integrity and outstanding ability. I fervently hope that the present distressing situation will soon be remedied and that Pandit Nehru will be able to take his rightful place in the leadership of Indian and world affairs."

III

POLITICAL TRAVELS OF JAWAHARLAL

[In order to grasp properly the speeches of Jawaharlal it is essential to visit the places and people where he went and to whom he spoke. This background is absolutely essential for a foreign reader and of great interest to an Indian worshipper of Nehru and his ideology. The following experiences of Jawaharlal are reminiscent of his whirlwind tours during the last elections by cart, car, cycle, wagon, horseback, on foot and by æroplane ! His average was thirty speeches a day. Once again, like prometheus, he is collecting his thunderbolts and "atomic bombs" for the struggle of freedom !] :

As I journeyed from one valley to another, the railway crept along (for it went very slowly) between thick forests on either side ; almost impenetrable, so they seemed. They came right up to the railway line, leaving only a narrow passage grudgingly for us to pass through. Their million eyes seemed to look down with disdain on this human effort, and were full of the hostility of the forest against man, who had dared so much against it, and cleared it to enlarge his domain. The call of the jungle and the mountain has always been strong within me, a dweller of cities and of plains though I am, and I gazed at these forests and jungles fascinated and wondered what myriad forms of life and what tragedy they hid in their darkness. Bountiful nature or nature red in tooth and claw—was it much worse in these forest recesses than in the cities, and the dwelling-places of men and women ? A wild animal kills for food to satisfy his hunger. He does not kill for sport or for the pleasure of killing. The fierce fights of jungle are individual fights, not the mass murder that man calls war ; there is no wholesale destruction by bomb and poison gas. The comparison seemed to be all in favour of the forest of the wild animals.

So I thought as I watched the pressing jungles. Gatherings of people at small stations and many tribal folk with gracious gifts of fruit and flowers, and cloth woven by themselves and fresh milk came to welcome me. Bright-eyed Naga children gave me garlands to wear. Some of these tribal people pressed some money on me also, coppers and nickel coins, for Congress work, they said. And I felt ashamed and humble before their clear gaze full of faith and affection. What of the cities with their selfishness and intrigues and money-grabbing ?

And so to our destination, and big crowds and rousing welcomes and *Bande Matram* shouted vigorously to the skies. A motor journey through the villages with crowds and welcome everywhere, and on to Silchar. The audience at the meeting there seemed to be bigger than what I had been told the population of the city was. Probably many people came from the villages. For three days, I rushed about the valley, chiefly in the Sylhet District. As in the Assam Valley, the roads were generally bad and prodigious number of ferries had to be crossed. But the charm and beauty of the passing scenery held me, and made me forget the roads, and the warmth of the welcome from all manner of people sent a glow to my heart.

Sylhet was definitely Bengal. The language proclaimed it, so also the Zamindari tenants who came, and of whom a large number were Muslims. And yet it had much in common with their unhappy and helpless looking labourers of excluded areas with tribal people. It was Bengal, but it seemed to possess a definite individuality of its own, hard to define, but something what was in the air.

I was gratified by the enthusiasm for the Congress which the masses showed, and enthusiasm shared by the Muslims as well as the Hindus and even by the tribal people. Obviously, good work had been done there in the past and the harvest was promising. It was pleasing also to find earnest workers in all parts of the district. Sylhet has a good number of them and the human material they deal with is also good. Much, therefore, can be expected of Sylhet. Unfortunately, some local disputes have marred the good work, but these cannot be allowed to continue. The cause is greater than the individual, and the worker who does not realize this has failed to learn the first lesson of a Congressman. But I have confidence in Sylhet, in its people and in its Congress workers, earnest and keen as they are and with a record of sacrifice for the cause behind them. And so, as I was leaving Sylhet, was asked for a message. I said "Go ahead, Sylhet !"

In the Bhanubil area of Sylhet I came across a large number of Manipuris. Hundreds of *charkhas* with Manipuri women and girls plying the wheel, sat there in ordered array to welcome me, and men-folk and charming children stood by. I was surprised and pleased to see Manipuris and delighted to learn of the

brave part they had taken in Civil Disobedience Movement. They had also had an economic No-tax Movement of their own, some years ago, when an attempt was made to enhance their rents.

There were entirely new people, new to me and so different from all others I had seen in India. How little we knew of our own country and her children ! Their features were Mongoloid, they resembled somewhat the Burmese. Indeed the resemblances to the Burmese were many, and included the dress of their women-folk. They were, extraordinarily, neat and clean-looking, and the young girls with the laughter lurking in their eyes had quite a smart modern look. The children were charming, with their hair over their foreheads cut short and arranged neatly in front. These fascinating people were peasant-folk with little or no education, good spinners and weavers, taking pride in themselves. They were all Vaishnavas by religion, but even here some Burmese customs had crept in and as I was told their marriage could be dissolved.

In the hills between the two valleys there lies the state of Manipur, which is the centre of these people, and from there this Bhanubil Branch had migrated some generations back. Where did the original stock come from Burma or elsewhere I wondered. They were called backward, I suppose, and yet with education and opportunity what could not be done with this attractive and intelligent-looking people ?

NEHRU IN THE AIR

I have done a fair amount of flying in India, both in the north and in the south. But this was my first experience of flying during the monsoon, and it was a new and pleasing sight. Ordinarily the countryside looks dry and parched, and eyes get tired by the monotony of the landscape. Not so during the monsoon. We all know how the monsoon brings welcome rain to the parched earth, and the greenery that blossoms at that magic touch. But to see this from on high brought home this change more vividly. Everything was green, though there were many shades to that greenery, and abundant water often flooded the fields. The trees stood out, cool and clean-looking and even the little villages that dotted the landscape lost some of their drab appearance. The eye rested, and lingered over this sight, and did not get tired. India seemed to be a green and pleasant land, rich in beauty and the wealth of its soil.

We flew low, usually about five or six hundred feet, and the land rushed past us. Above us were the clouds, and we had to keep under them in order to avoid blind flying. And because we flew low, we saw the landscape in some detail and observed men and women working in the fields and cattle staying lazily on the pasture grounds. We could take in that picture from that height and while seeing a wide expanse of earth, yet be near enough to be of it. Sometimes a hill would approach us and we would just go over it, and leave it far behind. Sometimes rain poured down on us and battered on the glass screen.

We did not worry much about it. Nor did we really mind air pockets, which made us jump. But when the clouds and mists began to envelop us flying low as we were, then my pilot was alittle worried. When we reached Bamrauli, it was raining hard and a mist covered the aerodrome, so that it was difficult to distinguish it.

I had wanted to start early in the morning from Jamshedpur, and reach Lucknow in the forenoon at the latest. But reports of thunderstorms and high winds were not encouraging, and my pilot, an expert in his job, was in no mood to take risks. We postponed our departure till better report came, and eventually took off a little before noon. We flew fast with a following wind pushing us on. Towns and villages passed us and the river Sone and the Ganga with Benares in the distance. It had been good flying so far, with only occasional bumps. As we approached Allahabad, black and threatening clouds came nearer and nearer, and it was obvious that we were going into a big thunderstorm. Out of these clouds suddenly appeared an Imperial Airways flying boat, a little to our right, and sailed majestically by. It was big enough to go through that storm, but our small plane was beginning to be buffeted.

Our pilot decided in favour of discretion and turned back to Benares. We landed there on the military aerodrome. After some waiting, which we utilized in filling up with petrol, we decided to venture up again. But the ground did not have much of a runway, and our plane felt heavy. So I dropped my luggage in Benares Thus lightened we flew easily enough and headed for Allahabad. As we approached the city, the low-flying clouds enveloped us and rain lessened the visibility still further. We crossed the Ganga and my eye spotted Anand Bhawan and Swaraj Bhawan and many other familiar landmarks. Even the Alfred Park looked singularly attractive from above, perhaps, because of the monsoon. We flew right over the High Court and I could see large number of men of law crowding in the verandahs to see this impertinent little plane rush by.

And so to Bamrauli in just half an hour from Benares. There was little chance of our going further by air that day, and I bade good-bye to our pilot, and the gallant little plane that had brought us, and decided regretfully to continue my journey to Lucknow by the slow-moving railway train. The big air liners usually fly high. The K. L. M. has taken me 18,000 feet above sea-level, and flown over snow-covered Alps. We flew so high even, over the Dead Sea in Palestine that frost covered our window panes. Once I had a curious experience in an Imperial Airways liner flying over the deserts of Sind. That was my first experience of long distance flying. It was early morning, and the dawn was stealing over the earth. I saw stretched out far below me a magnificent snow-field. There it was, stretching as far as I could see on every side of us, a glistening, uniform

fields of snow. I rubbed my eyes in amazement and looked again. There could be no mistaking it. But it was absurd to have snow in Sind. Was it cotton, wool, then, masses of it strewn on the ground? That was an equally fantastic notion. We were flying high, and the sky above us was clear and blue. Below us also for some thousands of feet there was no cloud, and then there was this white shining mass apparently covering the ground. The mystery was solved soon enough when we came down five thousand feet and lost ourselves in the clouds. We emerged out of them, and under them, and found we were still flying nearly ten thousand feet above the ground. Flying high one loses touch with the earth. It seems, distant, and very few details are visible. A big river may be a silver streak, but even a mountain, unless it is very high, is hardly distinguishable from the low-lying land. There is a little sense of speed as one gets in a car or a railway train with objects rushing past us. But if a plane flies really low, under a hundred feet, then the earth simply rushes up and away.

WONDERINGS IN KASHMIR

I imagine, though I have no definite data for this that the development of the Congress Movement and of the Khudai Khidmatgars in the North-West Frontier Province had considerable influence on Kashmir during the last ten years. The two are adjoining neighbours and have many contacts, and yet the Afghans and the Kashmiris differ from each other markedly. It is surprising that such close neighbours, who have lived next to each other for nearly a thousand years, should differ so much physically, intellectually, culturally and emotionally. But in spite of these differences there is much in common and the political upheaval in the Frontier Province was bound to produce its reactions in Kashmir.

I was exceedingly fortunate, therefore, in having as my companion during the Kashmir visit, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who has been the cause of this political awakening in the Frontier, and who symbolises it so much in his own person. It was obvious that he was a favourite of the Kashmiris, as he has become of people in all parts of India. "Fakhre-Afghan, or Badshah Khan", as he is popularly and affectionately known, was a delightful companion, though a hard taskmaster occasionally.

Both the Frontier Province and Kashmir adjoin the Punjab. Both camplain that it is the communal spirit of the Punjab that creeps in and creates friction and trouble, otherwise there would be communal harmony. This complaint is especially bitter against certain sections of the Punjab Press, both Hindu and Muslim-owned, which spread out into these adjoining territories, which have no proper newspaper of their own.

As a reaction against this Press invasion from the Punjab, there is a tendency for Kashmir and the Frontier Province to hold together. These contacts are likely to grow, and I think

they should grow to the mutual advantage of both.

I addressed many great gatherings in Srinagar and outside, but I had gone to Kashmir more to learn and to understand than to teach. Two of the Srinagar meetings I addressed were held under the auspices of the National Conference, whose guest I was. Two others in Srinagar were held under the auspices of the Yuvak Sabha—the organization of the Kashmiri Pandits. I spoke at some length on the minority problems at the Yuvak Sabha meeting. I need not repeat what I said then, for it has been said often enough, but I warned them not to fall into the trap into which minorities easily fall. I spoke frankly and freely for having been born in a Kashmiri Pandit family; I could take liberties with my own people.

While every individual and group deserved equal protection and help from the State, the idea of special safeguards for a minority group was full of peril for that group. For such safeguards led to dependence on extraneous help and weakened the group's spirit of self-reliance; the special privileges amounted, in effect, to little but they created wells of prejudice which injured the group, and barriers which prevented growth.

Above all, they led to a narrowness of outlook, and to isolation from national activities and the life-giving currents which moved the masses. At any time, such safeguards and special protections were dangerous gifts to ask for or to receive. In the dynamic world of to-day with vast revolutionary changes taking place before our eyes, it was folly of the first order to imagine that such safeguards or privileges could hold and protect. Only strength of mind and purpose and unity of action could give some protection.

Safeguards and special protection might, perhaps, be needed by a group which was very backward educationally and economically. They were in the nature of crutches for the lame and halt. Why should those who were keen of mind and swift of foot require them? No one had ever accused the Kashmiri Pandits of lack of intelligence or of ability to adapt themselves to a changing environment. All that they should demand was a free and open field for talent and ability.

I pointed out to them what an outstanding part Kashmiris, both Hindu and Muslim, had played in the whole of India, although they were small in numbers. In public life, professions, services, in the States, in cultural activities, they had done remarkably well, without the least help or protection from anybody. Many of the Muslim Kashmiris are not known as Kashmiris, and so people do not appreciate this fact. But as a matter of fact, Muslim Kashmiris are prominent in many walks of life in India.

One famous name stands out above all others, that of the poet, Sir Mohammad Iqbal, who was a Sapru.

Kashmiri Pandits are no more recognised in India as Kashmiris. They have done astonishingly well, although in number they are probably under five thousand outside Kashmir. I told my audience with becoming modesty that during the fifty-five years of the life of the Indian National Congress, for seven years Kashmiri Pandits had been Presidents, a remarkable record for a handful of people who had migrated from Kashmir to the plains below.

The whole question of minorities and majorities in India is tied up with foreign and third party rule, and with the elimination of the third party, the basic aspect of this question changes. The process of elimination is going on now.

So I spoke, and said much else laying special stress on need for every group, if it was to count in the future, to throw its weight on the side of the masses, to join the national movement and draw strength and sustenance from it. No group or community which was continually shouting about itself, and demanding this and that special privilege or protection, would make much difference to the future that was being shaped. That future would be shaped without it.

The women's meeting was an extraordinary sight. It rained heavily throughout, and the meeting was held in the open. I had imagined that the meeting would be abandoned. But four hours before the time of the meeting thousands of women gathered and stood in the pouring rain and when Badshah Khan and I got there, these girls and young women and old women were standing in ankle-deep mud and water. I am partial to the women of Kashmir. They are beautiful and full of charm, and there was many a bright and intelligent face there in that eager audience. I spoke to them of women's problems, of what women had done and were doing in our national movement, of what their own kith and kin had done. And I urged them to rid themselves of the barriers of *Purdah*, where such existed and evil customs. The old orthodoxy must go, and the women of Kashmir, who were so eminently fitted in many ways, must play their part in the New India which we were all building together.

Wherever I went, these women of Kashmir came to welcome me and to treat me as a brother or a son. It was a joy to meet them and see them, and to see the affection in their eyes. At Mutton, old Kashmiri ladies came to bless me and kiss me on the forehead as mother does to her son.

INDIAN ART

"Art if it does not spring up from the strength of our nation is a lifeless art. If it has no connection with the problems and realities of life it is useless and dead like the pictures of women in Ajanta caves," said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru inaugurating the National Art Exhibition at Lucknow on 17th November 1945.

Pt. Nehru observed that the artist with a living mind could produce art full of life. An artist with dead mind could produce only lifeless art. Art which could not grapple and face the great problems of our age could not be helpful in our life. The main function of art was not only to please the eyes, but to guide the man in the struggle for existence.

Pt. Nehru bitterly criticised the present system of teaching art in schools. He remarked amidst laughter, "I have seen my pictures hanging on the walls in schools. If my face would have been so ugly as depicted in pictures, I would have committed suicide."

Pandit Nehru dealing with the art of living said that people were living in the most wretched condition. They had been brought up in an atmosphere in which æstheticism was unknown. Leaving aside the question of the poor labourers, the middle class and the upper middle class were living a most contemptible life. The Taluqdars of Lucknow did not escape from Pandit Nehru's sharp criticism, whose houses he said, made him feel most disgusted. These people, he felt, had a knack of doing things wrongly which could be done in a right way. The cities in this country were in a most miserable condition. It was no fault of the members of the municipalities. Pt, Nehru remarked sarcastically. They knew nothing about æstheticism. In foreign countries art galleries and museums were built up and the children in those countries were brought up in an atmosphere of art and nothing was done in this country in that direction. Pandit Nehru observed that the problem of producing creative energy in this nation was one of the most difficult questions facing us to-day. When the creative energy was lessened, the nation became weak. In every aspect the great artist in our nation had gone and only imitators had remained. The greatest problem facing us was to bring life to our lifeless nation which would bring creative energy in our artists.

HIKING IN THE HIMALAYAS

Just before the conclusion of his eleven-day trekking in mountainous tracts of Kashmir, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in an interview to the United Press representative at Waniram, said "I have greatly enjoyed this trek of ours in higher valleys of Kashmir. This is not surprising, for I always enjoy such visit and had long looked forward to it. I feel much better in body now and fresher in mind in spite of the hard marching that we have undergone. For the pleasure of this trip I am indebted, of course, to the mountains and valleys of Kashmir, its glaciers, lakes and streams, its noble trees and innumerable variety of flowers. But I am also indebted to the careful arrangements made by Sheikh Mohamad Abdullah, who as usual left nothing to chance, and to my companions than whom I could have none better. Messrs. Ghulam Mohamad Bakhshi and Shamlal Kaul,

who busied themselves with innumerable details of such trip and left me and my daughter, Indira, to have the pleasure alone without any worry.

"During these days I have often felt how selfish I was to be enjoying myself in this lovely mountain land when work demanded my presence elsewhere. Especially my place was in U.P. to attend important meetings of Congressmen that are being held there and to be present next week at the Liberty Week celebrations in my province. But I got entangled in many important engagements here during the next few days and I must ask my colleagues of U. P. to excuse me and to be indulgent towards me in this matter.

"In connection with the Liberty Week I should like to offer my homage to all those who have suffered in the struggle for India's freedom, especially during the last three years. I have no doubt that their suffering has not been in vain."

IV

ABOUT THE SPEECHES

This book contains nearly two hundred speeches divided into fifteen sections and over one hundred and sixty heads. Here and there two or three speeches have been combined for the sake of unity and uniformity. Immediately after the introduction, which is personal study of Jawaharlal, there follows the section headed "Personality and Politics" which is a natural sequence after the introduction, because the six" speeches so classified have a strong element of personal references, so that the reader will not find any abrupt change in his ideas. "Articles of Faith" will tell the reader how Jawaharlal came to acquire a strong courage of conviction, almost Christ-like, in the justification of India's cause. Nehru adopted non-violence as a Weapon of War almost instinctively and surrendered himself completely to the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Like the apostle of non-violence, Jawaharlal has no faith in Secret Diplomacy. In this section you will find that Jawaharlal is fond of travelling abroad and he loved England very much once, but his strong sense of patriotism generated in him a strong distaste for England, and his pleasure consists in the romance of Independence Day which gives a vision of Free India.

The Second Section is the "Political Education" for the youth and is a natural sequence to the first section. It is addressed to the young people and has a fiery touch of Jawaharlal's own impulsive spirit. Whether Jawaharlal is addressing youth of Bombay, Bengal, Ceylon or the Punjab, he is imparting worthwhile instruction to the promising youth the world over. With the voice of a young man, Jawaharlal pours his ideas into youthful ears.

As the young people grow older, their fire and fervour is naturally cooled down by the "Conflict of Ideals." So this is the

caption of the Third Section. Patriotism, Democracy, Fascism, Imperialism, Communalism, Communism, Complete Independence or Dominion Status, Hindustan versus Pakistan, etc. are some of the ideologies that inflict the mind of a youthful Indian, and Jawaharlal has answered these questions in the six speeches included in this section.

When the mind of student of politics is baffled, he naturally wants to get out of the mess of controversies and see, if possible, a concrete "Shape of things to Come." So this is our Fourth Section. It includes, besides other two useful pieces, Jawaharlal's presidential address at the historic Lahore Session of the Indian National Congress where was passed the Resolution of Complete Independence on the last minute of the last day of 1929. That address clearly outlines what India stands for.

From Jawaharlal's address at the Lahore Congress, it is but natural to pass on to the "Punjab Politics" which has always been a sordid affair and a disgrace to Indian statesmanship. So this is our Fifth Section. Jawarharlal loves Punjab as much as he hates it. The Punjab and the Punjabis are the Sword Arm of India, but they worked to defend imperialism and helped in the suppression of Human Rights.

While discussing the military aptitude of the Punjabi soldiers, it is natural to pass on to the bigger problem—The Defence of India. So this is our Sixth Section. Can India defend herself? Yes, says Nehru. If the Indian soldiers have defended the British Empire in the two world wars, they can certainly defend their homesteads.

From defence to offence is an easy transition. And so we come to the Second World War. And this forms our Seventh Section. It contains thirty speeches in which India demanded to know the war aims of Britain in the autumn and winter of 1939, and forms a very interesting reading.

Since the British imperialists refused to listen to the advice of the Congress leaders and declare India free in all honesty, the Congress ministries resigned, the nationalists prepared the road to Quit India, for the British, of course, who nevertheless refused to go, and so this is the theme of the Eighth Section which comprises forty-one speeches of Jawaharlal delivered in the months preceding the Quit India Resolution of August 1942. They show the rising temper of Jawaharlal and the people of India in general.

From Quit India to Freedom is a sequence as natural as leaves in the spring, and so this is our Ninth Section. It has eighteen speeches dealing with Jawaharlal's campaign of freedom since his release from Ahmednagar Fort in May 1945.

Jawaharlal has found long ago that the puppet princes of the Indian States are the greatest stumbling block to freedom, because they have put their shoulder to the wheel of the imperial chariot

So our Tenth Section is "Princes and People." It has ten latest speeches of Jawaharlal dealing with the matters of States. The bungling of Faridkot and Kashmir come in for a deal of criticism at the hands of Pandit Nehru.

Economics is the handmaid of politics. There can be no political freedom without Economic Reconstruction. And this the burden of the Eleventh Section. Twelfth Section is the People's War which is now in progress in India on both economic and political front Thirteenth Section deals with the New World Order which is now being shaped by the United Nations in a most hopeless fashion. The Fourteenth section deals with the Mission of India and consists of seven golden messages addressed by Jawaharlal to the peoples of the world. The Fifteenth Section contains the latest and the "stop press" speeches of Jawaharlal while this book was in the process of being printed.

Thus the speeches are so selected as to give a full-fledged picture of Jawaharlal's political outlook.

FIRST SECTION

Personality and Politics

It is difficult for a politician to divest his personality from his politics. It is all the more difficult for a seer like Jawaharlal whose personality has stamped itself on every phase of Indian politics. In this section some such political speeches of Jawaharlal have been presented in which personal convictions are strongly marked and form the very texture of his political eloquence.

I

Articles of Faith

[*The following statement made by Pandit Nehru before the Court of the Distric Magistrate of Allahabad on May 17, 1922, sums up what may be regarded as the Ten Commandments of the great Indian hero. The conviction of Jawaharlal may be compared to the conviction of Jesus Christ and the trial of Socrates. When Nehru was being tried for "criminal intimidation and abetment of an attempt to extort," he gave expression to some of the sublimest sentiments of faith and freedom. The statement shows that Jawaharlal is capable of rising into the highest firmament of ecstacy when fundamental human rights are molested.*]

I am making this statement not in order to defend myself against the various charges brought against me but to define my position and to state the motives which have induced me to act in the manner I have done. **I have refused to plead guilty or not guilty, and I have declined to participate in this trial by cross-examination of witnesses or otherwise. I have done so because I do not recognise this Court as a court where justice is administered.** I mean no disrespect to the presiding officer when

I say that so far as political offences are concerned, the courts in India merely register the decrees of the executive. They are being used to-day even more than ever before to prop up the fabric of a government which has misgoverned India long enough and which has to resort to these tactics now in an attempt to restore a prestige which is gone for ever.

I stand here charged with criminal intimidation and abetment of an attempt to extort. The warrant of my arrest bears also the familiar section 124-A, although I am not being tried for it to-day. I propose, however, to make a comprehensive statement. I cannot divide myself up into various compartments, one for picketting, another for sedition and yet another perhaps for volunteering. All my activities have but one end in view and that I have striven to attain with all the strength and energy that is in me.

Less than ten years ago, I returned from England after a lengthy stay there. I had passed through the usual course of public school and university. I had imbibed most of the prejudices of Harrow and Cambridge, and in my likes and dislikes I was perhaps more an English man than an Indian. I looked upon the world almost from an Englishman's standpoint. And so I returned to India as much prejudiced in favour of England and the English as it was possible for an Indian to be.

To-day, ten years later, I stand here in the dock charged with two offences and with a third hovering in the background—an ex-convict who has been to jail once already for a political offence, and a rebel against the present system of government in India. That is the change which the years have wrought in me. It is not necessary for me to recite the reasons for this change. Every Indian knows them ; every Indian has felt them and has hung his head in shame for them. And if he has retained spark of the old fire in him, he has taken a solemn pledge to strive unceasingly for India's freedom, so that his countrymen may never again be subjected to the miseries and humiliations that are the lot of a subject people. To-day sedition against the present government in India has become the creed of the Indian people, to preach and practise disaffection against the evil which it represents, their chief occupation.

I am charged with criminal intimidation and attempted extortion. I have wondered if these charges were seriously meant. The sections of the code which have been applied bear no relation to the facts even as disclosed by the prosecution evidence. I presume that the signal success, that has attended our efforts in Allahabad, has induced the authorities to take some action against the picketters. **If peaceful picketting for a lawful object**

is a crime, then, indeed, I am guilty of having advised it and helped it. But I have yet to learn that peaceful picketting has become an offence even under the laws of British India. Our object in picketting was to make the cloth-dealers adhere to the pledge they had jointly taken. Does ony one believe that we could achieve success in this by criminal intimidation and extortion? All the world knows that our strength lies in the support of our people and the good-will of our countrymen. **Our weapons are not the old time ones of force and coercion. The weapons which our great leader has put in our hands are those of love and self-sacrifice. We** suffer ourselves and by our suffering seek to convert our adversary.

Criminal intimidation involves a threat of injury to a person or his property, and injury denotes harm "illegally" caused. So also extortion must include the putting of any person in fear of "injury" and thereby "dishonestly" inducing him to part with property. I have listened to the prosecution evidence with interest in order to find out on what ground these novel charges were based. What was the injury to any person or property that was the harm "illegally" caused? Wherein lay the dishonesty of any of us? I have not heard a single allegation yet made, much less proved which suggests that we have caused injury to any person or property, caused any harm illegally or acted dishonestly. Not a single prosecution witness, including the police and the C. I. D., has made such an allegation. In the whole of Allahabad there was found no person of the thousands who must have witnessed the picketting, who could bring the charge of any intimidation against us or even a harsh word uttered by one of our picketters. No greater proof of our triumph can be given than this unsought testimony of the police and the C. I. D. Our picketting has been, I make bold to say, a model of its kind, perfectly peaceful, perfectly courteous, relying on entreaties and exhortations and not even hinting at force or intimidation. The cloth-dealers, who are alleged to have been intimidated by us, are presumably the aggrieved party. But not one of them has complained.

Ten months ago the cloth-dealers of Allahabad took a solemn pledge to refrain from purchasing foreign cloth till the end of 1922. All the signatories to the pledge, and they included almost every cloth-merchant in the city, constituted themselves into an association styled the Vyapari Mandal and elected office-bearers and a committee. The first business of the Mandal was to lay down that every member who broke his pledge and purchased foreign cloth would have to pay a certain penalty and in case he refused to do this, picketting would be resorted to. The committee of the Mandal was to determine in each individual case how much foreign cloth had been bought and what the penalty was to be. On several occasions during the

past year the Mandal Committee considered such breaches of the pledge and imposed and received fines in accordance with their rules. Occasionally at their request picketting was also resorted to. Two months ago a large quantity of foreign cloth was purchased by some of the cloth-dealers in Allahabad. This was in contravention of the pledge and the shops of some of these cloth-dealers were picketted. Later, the committee of the Vyapari Mandal newly-reconstituted, assessed the fines on the merchants who had broken their pledges and themselves collected this money, which lies at the disposal of the Mandal. To the best of my knowledge two of the gentlemen who have given evidence for the prosecution in this case are members of the Committee of the Mandal, and as such they must have themselves helped in the assessment and collection of the fines.

These are the facts relating to picketting in Allahabad. It is clear beyond doubt that there was neither any intimidation nor any attempt at extortion. The present prosecution is really an attempt to suppress lawful and peaceful picketting under cover of charges of intimidation and extortion. Picketting has been going on all over India for many months. It has taken place in many cities and bazars in the province. Here in this very city of Allahabad we have repeatedly resorted to it. And yet Government took no action against it as such. They knew well that in India as in England peaceful picketting is no crime. Of course, it is open to them by a stroke of the pen to make even peaceful picketting illegal. But whether they do so or not they should. To entreat and exhort and advise others that they should follow a certain line of action or to abstain from doing something is a right which we will not abandon, whatever the Government may do. **We have few rights and privileges left in this country and even these are sought to be taken away.** We have shown to the world how we value the right of free association, and we have continued our volunteers in spite of thousands of arrests and all Government notifications to the contrary. We will not and we cannot submit to any restriction of our right of free speech. A quarter of a century ago, a great English judge stated in the House of Lords with reference to this right of speech: "**A man has a right to say what he pleases, to induce, to exhort, to command, provided he does not slander to deceive or commit any other of t[illegible]rongs known to the law of which speech [illegible]e the medium. Unless he is thus shown to [illegible]oused his right, why is he to be called upo[illegible]xcuse or justify himself because his words m[illegible]erfere with some one else in his calling.**" Thi[illegible]t of free speech we shall cling to, whatever the cost.

I am glad for many reasons that I am being tried for picketting. My trial will bring the question of the boycott of

foreign cloth even more to the front, and I am confident that when the people of Allahabad and the province realise the full significance of this boycott, they will discard all foreign cloth, treat it as unholy and the touch of it almost as pollution. If they pondered over the evils and the misery and the poverty that foreign cloth has brought to this long-suffering country, perhaps they would feel some of the horrors I feel, at the thought of wearing it. They will not bring forth arguments that old clothes have to be worn out or that festivities require fine clothing. They would know that the salvation of India and her hungry millions demanded the use of the *charkha* and the wearing of *khaddar*, and they would cast out all foreign cloth and consign them to the flames or to the dust-bin. I pray that the cloth-merchants of Allahabad will adhere to their sacred pledges twice taken, and try their utmost to bring about a complete boycott of foreign cloth in this ancient and holy city. **Some of these cloth-dealers have given evidence for the prosecution in this case. I have no grievance against them. I shall suffer most gladly any imprisonment that may be awarded to me if I know that thereby I have touched their hearts and won them over to the great cause.** And I would appeal to the public of this city and province and earnestly request them to do this much for their country—wear *khaddar* and ply the *charkha*.

My co-accused and I are charged with intimidation and extortion. I should like the police and Government officials to examine their own conscience, to search deep down into their hearts and say what many of them have done during the past year and a half. Intimidation and terrorism, bribery and extortion, have been going on over the length and breadth of the province. And the persons guilty of them have not been Congressmen or our volunteers but the underlings of the Government who have indulged in them frequently with the knowledge and approval of their superiors. Yet they are not tried or punished. They are patted on the back and praised and promoted.

My colleagues and I have seen and personally investigated acts of terrorism and inhumanity. We have seen how men and women have been subjected to the uttermost humiliation. We have seen how terror reigns in Sitapur. We have investigated the brutalities of Shohratganj and we know hundreds of Ballia's gallant workers have been sent to jail for the sole offence of being Congress office-bearers or other principal workers of the Congress. And the poor down-trodden *kisans* with the haunted hopeless look in their eyes, working away like the beasts of the field from morning to nightfall, so that others may enjoy the fruits of their labour. We have seen them harassed and made utterly miserable. Their life became almost too heavy to be

borne. I need not refer to individual districts. Almost every one of them has the same sad and splendid tale to tell.

Intimidation and terrorism have become the chief instruments of the Government. By these methods they seek to keep down people and to suppress their disaffection. Do they imagine that they will thus instil affection for themselves in the people or make them loyal instruments of their imperialism ?

Affection and loyalty are of the heart. They cannot be purchased in the market-place, much less can they be extorted at the point of the bayonet. Loyalty is a fine thing. But in India some words have lost their meaning and loyalty has come to be almost a synonym for treason to the motherland and a loyalist is he who is not loyal to his God or his country but merely hangs on to the coat-tail of his alien master. To-day, however, we have rescued the word from the depthsof degradation and in almost every jail in India would be found true loyalists who have put their cause, their faith and their country above everything else and have been true to them despite all consequences. To them has come the call ; they have seen the vision of freedom and they will not rest or turn away till they have achieved their heart's desire. England is a mighty country with her armies and her navies, but to-day she is confronted with something that is mightier. Her armies and her navies have to face the suffering and the self-sacrifice of a nation determined to be free and no man can doubt what the issue of such struggle must be. **We are fighting for our freedom, for the freedom of our country and faith. We desire to injure no nation or people. We wish to have no domination over others. But we must be perfectly free in our own country.** England has cruelly wronged us during the past 150 years or more. And even yet she has not repented and mended her ways. India gave her a chance a year and a half ago, but in the pride and arrogance of her physical might she has not taken it. The people of India have tried her and they have passed judgment, and from that decree there is no turning back. India will be free of that, there is no doubt, but if England seeks the friendship of a free India, she must repent and purge herself of her many sins, so that she may be worthy of a place in the coming order of things.

I shall go to jail again most willingly and joyfully. Jail has, indeed, become a heaven for us, a holy place of pilgrimage since our saintly and beloved leader was sentenced. Big-bodied, great-hearted Shaukat Ali, bravest of the brave and his gallant brother are there, and so are thousands of our co-workers. One feels almost lonely outside the jail, and selfishness prompts

a quick return. Perhaps I shall be awarded a long term of imprisonment this time. Whether this is so or not, I shall go with the conviction that I shall come out to greet *Swaraj* in India.

I have said many hard things about the British Government. For one thing, however, I must offer it my grateful thanks. It has given us a chance of fighting in this most glorious of struggles. Surely few peoples have had such an opportunity given to them. And the greater our suffering, the more difficult the tests we have to pass, the more splendid will be the future of India. India has not survived through thousands of years to go down now. India has not sent her noblest and best twenty-five thousands of her sons to the jail to give up the struggle. India's future is assured. Some of us, men and women of little faith, doubt and hesitate occasionally, but those who have vision can almost see the glory that will be India's.

I marvel at my good fortune. To serve India in the battle of freedom is honour enough. To serve her under a leader like Mahatma Gandhi is doubly fortunate. But to suffer for the dear country! What greater good fortune could befall an Indian, unless it is death for the cause or the full realisation of our glorious dream?

II

India's Weapon Of War

[*India has chosen non-violence as its weapon of war in the holiest of the holy struggle for independence and there is no question of replacing non-violence by violence, says Nehru, because the latter weapon has been weighed in the balance by the nations of the world and found wanting. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru embraced non-violence as his lode-star of life immediately after its trial in India, as is clear from the following resume of Jawaharlal's presidential address, delivered at the U. P. Provincial Conference held at Benares on October 13, 1923. Jawaharlal is the first and foremost exponent of Mahatma Gandhi's non-violence, and I wonder if the General himself has not borrowed some ideas of his Lieutenant! It appears there has been some lease-lend transaction between Gandhi and Nehru!*]

Our trial was going on in Nabha and for many days we had been cut off from the outside world. A friend happened to gain admittance to the court room and he whispered to me that I had been elected president of this conference. Being very human I felt elated at this signal mark of confidence and honour. But immediately I thought of the long line of presidents full of wisdom and courage,

who had preceded me and of the great responsibility of this office and I shuddered at the prospect. And then being human, I felt pleased at being in jail and so escaping the burden of this responsibility. But the Nabha administration willed otherwise. And the few days that elapsed since my discharge under a suspended sentence, have been, I am ashamed to confess, days of illness for me. To-day I stand before you an object of pity and indulgence.

It is customary on these occasions to present a carefully thought out and previously prepared address, which is usually printed and distributed. I have not had the opportunity to do so and even if I had time, I doubt if I could have produced anything worthy of record. You have chosen to cast this burden on me at a strange and critical period of our national history, when parties fight with each other and the foundation of our great movement for freedom, as we have known it in the last three years or more, has been shaken, when senseless and criminal bigotry struts about in the name of religions and instils hatred and violence into the people. The best and wisest of guidance is necessary for us; how can I presume to show the way?

Less than a month ago, the Congress met in a special session at Delhi and arrived at some momentous decisions. As a subordinate organisation, we cannot go counter to those decisions. We must accept them and work them to the best of our ability. But I would have you consider where those decisions lead us. Let us be quite clear in our minds about our goal and the manner of reaching it. There was no doubt in us three years ago. **In 1920 and 1921 we were full of faith and confidence. We did not sit down to debate and argue. We knew we were right and we marched on from victory to victory. We felt the truth in us and every fibre of being thrilled at that idea of our fighting for right and fighting in a manner unique and glorious. Those were brave days, the memory of which will endure and be cherished possessions for all of us.** Then our leader left us, and weak and unstable and inconstant, we began to doubt and despair. The faith of the old went and with it much of our confidence. There followed a year of strife and dispute and mutual recrimination, and all our energy was diverted to combating and checkmating our erstwhile comrades in the rival camp, Pro-changer and No-changer. No-changer was not behind the Pro-changer in forgetting the basic lesson of non-violence and charity and in imputing the bias of motives to persons of a different way of thinking. We failed to keep even our tempers, how then could we exercise right judgment? And so gradually non-violent non-co-operation began to lose some of its fundamental features and for many became an empty husk devoid of real significance.

The Delhi Congress, it is said, has brought out a compromise between the two rival schools of thought and put an end to this long agony. If the Congress programme results in ending bitterness and suspicion and re-introducing in our politics charity of judgment and non-violence in our thought, then indeed it has largely succeeded. But I do not think that it is correct to describe the principle resolution of the Congress as a compromise resolution. They were only so in so far as certain groups acquiesced in them. I do not think there can be any real or stable compromise between the two principal viewpoints which have been fighting for mastery in the country. They are fundamentally different. They are both honourable methods and their advocates are brave men and keen thinkers but nonetheless they differ radically.

The Delhi Congress, it has been remarked, marks the end of Non-co-operation. I wonder at any one who had lived through the last three or four years in India making this assertion. It passes my comprehension, how even a resolution of the Congress can put an end to a mighty movement. **If India has at all imbibed the teaching of Mahatma Gandhi, if even a group of men remain true to that gospel, then non-co-operation cannot die. And if all of us are utterly unworthy of this teaching and incapable of acting in accordance with it, even then a subsequent generation will wield the mighty weapon and prove to the world that this is the only and the best way which ensures true freedom and ends strife. Non-violent non-co-operation cannot die. It has gone beyond the boundaries of our country and is the property of the world.**

I shall not presume to criticise the Delhi Congress, but I do think that several of its decisions were opposed to the movement as started by Mahatma Gandhi ; they were contrary to the basic principles, as stated by Mahatmaji, or non-violent non-co-operation. That, of course, is no reason why we should not change our programme, if we are otherwise convinced that a change is necessary. But even from the point of view of the original programme, I welcome the Delhi decisions. They do mean a going back, and it is always difficult and painful to do so when one believes firmly in the old method. But I believe that this going back or rather this permission to others to go back was necessary at this stage. It may have been possible for those who believed in this to get a verdict from the Congress against any change. But I doubt if this would have done much good to non-co-operation. I am not in the least afraid of the difference of opinion amongst ourselves. That must continue. But I confess to have experienced a feeling of humiliation, when I saw that our noble movement, nurtured on high ideals and voluntary suffering, was being converted into

two party causes, each devoting its money and energy to raising delegates who would lift up their hands at the bidding of their leaders. **Non-co-operation will prosper not by resorting to such western political methods and manoeuvres, but by its utter purity and straightness and by its appeal to the masses.** I almost wish that the Calcutta Special Congress in 1920 had not accepted the non-co-operation policy and programme. This acceptance overwhelmed us from the very beginning and the weight of numbers paralysed us. We could then have marched in a compact body, strong in our faith and in our discipline and at the right moment have converted the masses and the Congress to our viewpoint. The process was reversed and we have suffered accordingly. The basis of non-co-operation is direct action and this involves continuous suffering. No one can expect large masses of people. Only the elect can do that and the masses can sympathise with them occasionally for a short while. If the Congress really represents the people, it is natural that it should attempt to go back a little to some kind of constitutional action whenever large numbers of people are tired of direct action. To the eager, ever ready for the fray, this is painful. But there is no room for despondency. Only a heavier burden is cast on those who have to keep the method of direct action always before the people ; they have no fight on while the main army will not fail them. And so I am content with the Delhi decision. Any attempt to force the issue would have had unhappy results.

What then is our aim and what should be our means ? Our creed is short and simple, but it shelters many interpretations. We have made it abundantly clear, that we have not the slightest interest in provincial autonomy or the transfer of subjects in the Government of India. Full internal freedom means that we must control the finances and the army and the police. So long as we do not control these, we have no freedom in India. This is the minimum. But the question has arisen whether we should not define Swaraj in our creed as independence. Personally I shall welcome the day when the Congress declares for independence. I am convinced that the only proper and right goal for India is independence.

I am not desirous of changing the Congress creed at this stage. This would give rise to unnecessary debate and controversy and might narrow the Congress and exclude some people. Let us keep the Congress open for all. When the people have thoroughly grasped and approved of the idea, the change in the creed will automatically follow. Till then it is not desirable to force a change.

I have already indicated that I believe in the Non-co-operation Movement as inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi. I believe that the salvation of

India and, indeed, of the world will come through non-violent non-co-operation. Violence has had a long career in the world. It has been weighed repeatedly and found wanting. The present condition of Europe is eloquent testimony of the inefficiency of violence to settle anything. I believe that violence in Europe will go from excess to excess and will perish in the flames it has itself kindled and be reduced to ashes. Many people smile and fling cheap sneers at the prospect of non-violence ever coming into its own and directing the affairs of men and nations. They point to the frailty of human nature and the universal prevalence of anger and hatred and violence. I am afraid few of us are free from these. I know to my sorrow that I am full of violent thoughts and can with difficulty drag myself back to this straight and narrow path. But those who mock and smile would do well if they realised the power of the ideas and if they studied the progress of this particular idea. For it has already caught the imagination of the thinkers of the world and the Indian masses have been wonderfully affected by it.

Non-co-operation and non-violence, these are the two essential ingredients of this movement. The idea of non-co-operation is simple enough and clear to the meanest intellect, but nonetheless few of us had realised it, excepting partly during the Bengal partition days, till Mahatmaji issued his call to action. Evil flourishes only because we tolerate and assist it. The most despotic and tyrannical government can only carry on because the people it governs themselves submit to it. England holds India in bondage because Indians co-operate with the Englishmen and thereby strengthen British rule. Withdraw the co-operation and the fabric of foreign rule collapses. That follows automatically and requires no proof.

But in spite of the logic and of the inevitability of the result, many of us cannot adopt this obvious method. The subtle position of the British rule has enervated us and emasculated us and made cowards of us all. We have lost the spirit of adventure and we cannot take a risk even though the prize be so splendid as the freedom of India. The idea of non-co-operation has taken root and has sunk down to the masses, but sustained courage is lacking to give outward expression to this idea. With many it is an economic question. But what shall we say of those who even without this incentive give their time, energy and money to organise the innumerable functions for the honour and glory of English officials? To such a depth we have sunk that men of intelligence and

education among us think it no shame to help in their own dishonour. I make no complaint of the English officials. They are brave men serving their country to the best of their ability. I wish our men were equally brave and would think as often of the honour and dignity of their own country.

I firmly believe in the efficiency of non-violence. But non-violence has nothing to do with cowardice or weakness. Mahatmaji repeatedly stated that even violence is preferable to cowardice. Fear and cowardice are the greatest sins and unhappily we have enough of them in our country. Our anger and hatred are really the outcome of our fear and impotence. If we could get rid of this fear and cowardice, there would be little hatred left or any other obstacle to our onward march. Let us, therefore, root out this cowardice and give it no shelter. Above all let it not masquerade, as it unfortunately often does as non-violence. "A world of evil" says a great Frenchman "is preferable to emasculated good." There is too much sappiness and softness in us, too much emasculated good. One is almost driven to the conclusion that we are inanely and passively good, if good that is, because this is the path of least resistance and because we have not the courage to be evil. We dare not sin, though we think of it often enough and would like to do so.

This is a hateful condition. It is dishonest, neuter and hypocritical. Better the honest man of evil who sins consciously and knowingly and with the strength that is in him. When he reforms, he will be a tower of strength to the cause of good, because his foundations are strong. But the inanely and hypocritically good can be of use to no cause. There is no strength in them, their foundations are laid up on the shifting stands. And so there is no place for the cowardly in the non-violent movement.

I am laying stress on this question of non-violence for it is well that we should be clear about it. After some years of suspension there has apparently been a recrudescence of the violent revolutionary movement in Bengal. I can appreciate the impatience and longing for freedom which impels many a young man to violent action. I can admire the reckless courage which does not count the cost. But I cannot understand how any one imagines that sporadic violence can bring freedom nearer to us. Freedom is our right; and according to old customs and ordinary law of nations, we are entitled even to resort to violence to achieve it. But even freedom would be a doubtful and a tainted thing if we have to resort to foul means to gain it. I pray that this fate may never overtake our great movement. Violence may be justified under certain circumstances, but

it must be open and above-board and straight-forward. But no circumstance will justify secret killing, the dagger of the assassin and the stab in the dark. No nation has yet profited by these methods. They but sully a great cause and alienate world sympathy. On no account, therefore, can we take to the bomb and the dagger. And those who unthinkingly adopt these methods injure the cause they have at heart. We cannot even think of open and organised violence. We have really little choice left in the matter and even if we did not and on other grounds preferred it, we would be driven to non-violent non-co-operation. Bolshevism and Fascism are the waves of the West to-day. They are really alike and represent different phases of insensate violence and intolerance. The choice for us is between Lenin and Mussolini on the one side, and Gandhi on the other. Can there be doubt as to who represents the soul of India to-day?

India made her choice more than three years ago. She chose the path of non-violence and suffering, of direct action and peaceful revolution. From that there is no going back. There may occasionally appear to be some slackness or some change. We may have our bad patches and our moments of despondency, but the vision once seen cannot be forgotten and the glory of suffering for a great cause cannot be given up. Again and again the chance will come to us and while the wise argue, the brave will go forth heeding not the consequences, full of joy at the thought that they have been privileged to serve the great cause. Learned disputations take place frequently in the country for the preparation of civil disobedience. Much can be done in disciplining the people and creating a favourable atmosphere. But courage and will to suffer cannot be instilled into the people by lectures or tours. Personal examples alone can do it and it may be that little incident may electrify the whole of India and make us launch a mighty campaign of civil disobedience. Till that time comes, we may have many opportunities given us of testing our mettle and hardening our fibre. Let us take advantage of them and keep the practice and ideal of direct action and peaceful revolution ever before the people. We need not worry about the opportunities and chances. They will surely come to us. Let us see to it that they find us ready when they do come.

But our suffering would serve little purpose if we cannot deal sanely with our communal questions and exercise the spirit of strife and bigotry. A few broken heads matter little, but the reason for this does matter. **It is most strange that for the most trivial things, for childish superstitions or silly prejudices, people take risk and lose their reason in the sea of anger. The vital things, the real things that matter, pass unnoticed. Ignorance and bigotry put an end to all rational thoughts,**

It is almost useless to argue or convince. Religion is sacred and in its name are done the most shameful things. Indeed religion has become the excuse for many sins. It has little sanctity left and it is trotted out in season and out of season and all agreement naturally ends. We seem to have drifted back to a state of affairs which prevailed in Europe during the dark ages, when to think rationally was considered an evil. I think it is time for persons, who regard religion as something good and sacred, and the exercise of rational thought as essential for human progress, to protest with all their might against all kinds of bigotry and superstition.

A great deal is being said in the press and from the platform about the protection of communal interests. It is reported that associations for the purpose are being formed. So far as I can gather, all this sound and fury has little to do with action. We have little courage left for effective action. Our helplessness enrages us and so we camouflage our fear with brave words and not daring to stand up to our real opponent, we attack our brothers and neighbours. That has ever been the way of slaves. The Delhi Congress has done much to bring peace. Let us endeavour to put an end to all activities which are directed against another community and concentrate on the main issue. We have no time for mutual skirmishes.

I wish to say little about the certification of the Salt Tax and the Kenya decision. Enough has been said about them already. They but strengthen our contention that freedom is the only remedy and non-co-operation is the only means. Even Mr. Shastri with his abundant faith in the imperial idea has reconsidered his position and suggested methods clearly akin to non-co-operation. Even so will wisdom dawn on others. Nor do I wish to say much about Nagpur or the brave fight that was put up there. Our province took a worthy part in it and No-changer and Pro-changer joined hands to vindicate the honour of the national flag. To-day all eyes are turned to the North where the gallant Akalis are challenging the might of the Government. They have taken up the proud position of the vanguard in our army of freedom and they are fully worthy of it. I am sure your hearts go out to them in full sympathy and admiration and when the time comes, as come it will, we will not be lacking in our support to them.

I have already finished. I would but remind you that no fight can go on without continuous preparation behind the lines. That is dull work, but it is essential work. The real test of our perseverance and ability is the success we achieve in the constructive programme. We should therefore strengthen our Congress Committees and above all take the message of *khaddar* to every home. That was the last word of Mahatma when he went to

jail. We shall forget it at our peril. The Delhi Congress has suggested various kinds of activities. Every one of us, whatever his views may be, can find something to suit him. No one offers an excuse for shirking work.

Before I end I would mention a predecessor of mine in this office, one whose life is one long record of suffering cheerfully, borne for the sake of the country. Maulana Hasrat Mohani offered battle to the British Government and went to jail long before non-co-operation had made jail-going an easy matter, the bravest and staunchest of the soldiers of freedom whom nothing could divert or turn away, who would not even give in to his comrades much less to the alien Government. Whilst in jail serving out a long sentence, he has been awarded another sentence of 2½ years for jail offence. The Government perhaps think that they can break his spirit and frighten him by this shocking and vindictive sentence. They little know him. I am sure your deep sympathy and greetings will go out to this bright jewel of our province.

I have had my say. I wish to assure you in all honesty and I am full of hope. I have little patience with the pessimists and crookers. I am convinced that political freedom will come to us before long, if not entirely through our strength, then through the weakness of Europe and England. For Europe is in the melting pot and England with all her seeming might cannot but be affected by the collapse of the continent. Wars and rumours of the wars follow each other in quick succession. They will continue till the lesson of non-violence is learnt by bitter experience. So political freedom for India is certain. But I sometimes fear that when it comes to us it may find us lacking in true strength and the greater qualities. And instead of leaving a shining example to the rest of the world, India may become a cheap and inefficient replica of the countries of the West. Let us take the longer view from now and try to avoid this and build up a great and strong India worthy of the great leader whom God has blessed us with.

III

The Boy Comes Home

[*Jawaharlal's visits to Europe are pregnant with fresh political experiences and have a touch of romance about them. The following speech was delivered when he returned home from one of such voyages. It is the substance of the reply to the welcome address presented by the District Board of Allahabad on April 3, 1928. Jawaharlal pathetically states that an Indian who goes out of India is like a soldier who has deserted the field of battle. He has whiled away his time in leisurely repose far from the scenes of conflict. And this is not to be regarded a praiseworthy act!*]

I did not know that it was a special merit on my part to visit foreign countries, something which

deserved the high honour you have done me. For a soldier to desert from the field of battle and while away his time in leisurely repose, far from the scenes of conflict is not usually considered a very praiseworthy act. But you have made even this an occasion for doing me honour. The reason can only be, as you have yourself hinted at, your exceeding kindness and your affection which seeks an occasion when there is none. Ma I say that nothing could give me greater pleasure than this tokey of affection from the peasants of the district of Allahabad ann their representatives? I have wandered in many of your villaged and have ever met with the warmest welcome, and the poorests out of his poverty has offered hospitality. Political life has many ups and downs, many disappointments, many sinkings of heart, and I have had my share of these, but more than amply have all these been compensated by the love and trust of the peasantry and I look back on my association with them with these feelings of gratitude. I can never forget them or their love and simple faith for one who is not one of them, who belonged to a different class and who lived a life of comfort and ease whilst they suffered poverty and a lack of all good things of life. They did me the high honour of treating me almost as one of themselves. That honour I shall treasure to the last.

You have referred to two things which are very dear to me, independence for this country of ours and equality between man and man. You could have chosen nothing else for which I cared as much. I rejoice that you sympathise with these ideals. Whatever difference there may be among politicians and others, I make bold to say that there is no Indian who does not want to look forward to complete independence for this country. Differences there are about methods. May I remind you that twenty years ago Gopal Krishna Gokhale, who dedicated his life to the service of the motherland had said that he hoped that India would achieve complete independence some day? The day is twenty years nearer now than it was then, and let us hope that we shall see it soon.

To-day we see a society in which there are tremendous differences between man and man. Great riches on one side and great poverty on the other. Some people live in luxury without doing any work, whilst others work from morning to night with no rest or leisure and yet have not got the barest necessaries of life. This cannot be right. It is the negation of justice. It is not the fault of our individuals who happen to be rich. It is the fault of the system and it is up to us to change this system which permits of exploitation of man

by man and produces so much misery. Our country can produce enough to permit every man and woman living in it to live in comfort and peace. Every man and woman must have the opportunity to develop to the best of his or her ability. But to do so, we shall have to forget some of our ideas of a by-gone age. Honour and merit must come from ability and hard work and not because of caste or birth or riches. Let each one of us consider the other as his brothers, not higher or lower, neither to be worshipped nor despised, but treated as equal with equal rights to share this good country of ours and all it produces.

I have travelled much and I have compared with pain the condition of the peasantry in other countries with our peasants. In other countries, I have found a large measure of comfort and even luxury ; here there is abject poverty, which is made worse by the evil customs which we still adhere to. We must fight and get rid of the causes of this poverty and also discard these customs which keep us from progress. We must learn what is happening in other countries and profit by their example. Our district boards often approach the Government for grants. But have you realised that the whole machinery of government is run from the rural areas ? All the money spent on the army, on the huge salaries of the Viceroy and Governors and other officials—where does it largely come from except from the poverty-stricken villages of India ? Even our towns live at the expense of our villages. And what do our villages get in return ? There is very little education; very little sanitation or medical facilities, and absolutely no arrangements for proper housing. All your money is taken away and when you beg for doles very little is given to you by way of favour. In other countries it is the bounden and first duty of the State to give free education to every person, free medical facilities and sanitation and to build good houses for the poor. In other countries, it is felt that no nation can be strong unless its men and women are healthy and well-educated. But here it is more important to pay heavy salaries to officials and spend money on the army. No one thinks of the poor, and the country is weak and poor. We must put an end to this if we have to build up a prosperous India full of healthy and educated men and women. The future of India lies with the peasantry.

I thank you again for the honour you have done me and for the good wishes which you have so generously expressed. And I join with you in the fervent hope that our ideals may be speedily realised and India may come into her own again.

IV

No Faith in Secret Diplomacy

(Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru spoke in Hindi at a crowded meeting in the Purshottamdas Park at Allahabad on October 12, 1930. He began by paying homage to the many thousands of men and women in the country who had faced death and had braved the lathi blows of the police and all manner of atrocities. He stated that the All-India Congress Committee office had received reports that between 40 and 50 thousand persons had been sent to prison in connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement. In particular, he paid a deep tribute of admiration and homage to the martyrs of Peshawar and Sholapur, and to the splendid part taken in the national struggle by the city of Bombay. The day of his release, he said, was an auspicious day, because on that day a new ordinance was issued by Lord Irwin.)

The success of our movement can well be guaged by the number and variety of ordinances which are produced with regularity in the factories of Simla. The fact that this ordinance is the severest of all is in itself a sign that the British Government in India is getting in a bad way.

Indeed the time has come when, from the British point of view, every one of us should be a rebel. It is clear that India, big as it is, is not big enough to contain both Indian people and the British Government. One of the two has to go and there is little doubt as to which this is going to be.

To-day every man has to choose between the two flags, the flag of Indian freedom and the flag of foreign domination. The country has made its choice and has stuck to it in spite of all the frightfulness and methods of barbarism which history had associated in the past with the Huns. Not only have we experienced a suspect of savagery but we have had a refinement of cruelty and hypocrisy—barbarous behaviour trying to preserve an innocent and saintly appearance.

Recently Lord Irwin made a speech in which he criticized the Congress in connection with the recent effort of Dr. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar. I do not take much interest in Viceregal utterances, but two or three things I wish to make clear. The first is about the strange charge regarding diplomacy. For any one to accuse any organisation or a group with which Mahatma Gandhi is connected with any secrecy or with any diplomacy in a bad sense shows his amazing ignorance. Lord Irwin is obviously ill-served by his set of informers. This has led him to be surprised many a time in the past and he will have further cause for surprise many times again. The Congress stands for

open diplomacy at every stage and in every way. Indeed on the very first occasion when Dr. Sapru and Mr. Jayakar visited Naini Jail, they were told clearly and in writing that no private assurance or secret understanding will be accepted by us, partly because we have had enough of the assurances of Viceroys and others which had not been kept. At every stage and at every step of the negotiations this point was driven home to Messrs. Sapru and Jayakar. Lord Irwin refers to a certain formula which was approved by Pandit Motilal Nehru long before the negotiations started. He does not state that this formula was only meant as the basis of consultation with Mahatmaji. Lord Irwin and the Government whose agent he is in India may take it that so far as the Congress is concerned, we shall not be satisfied at any step with any private assurance or anything secret.

Lord Irwin further hints, I do not know on what basis that the terms put forward, were for show purposes only and we were out to bargain. It is strange that he has not realized that people who are out to bargain do not jump into a fire or get themselves shot or get lathi blows or break up their families to go to jails in scores of thousands.

Let him realise once for all that we are in deadly earnest, we have burnt our boats, we have taken the great resolve and there is no going back for us. For two years now the Congress has moved from step to step after due notice with inexorable logic. Let all realise that the Congress stands for independence of India and it will fight to the bitter end till it has achieved it.

It has become a pastime for some individuals who dare not show themselves in public to criticize the Congress. Without confidence in themselves or in the cause or in the country, always fearful and terrified, some of these persons have left India by the backdoor at the bidding and at the nomination of the representative of the foreign government here to speak in the name of India. It is a scandalous state of affairs that the nominees of the enemy should thus go secretly and parley with the enemy whilst the fight is in progress.

The Congress to-day is the Indian people including every major and minor community. The Congress is not even Mahatma Gandhi, great as he is, when the Indian people decide otherwise, they can put an end to our movement or carry it on in any other form. It is because the Indian people have entrusted us with this duty and made us take a pledge and carry it out that we cannot be false to our pledge and our people.

If Lord Irwin or any of his colleagues want to know what the Indian people think, why do they not come down from their mountain tops and go to the bazars and the field and the factories and watch the lathi charges, the atrocities on women and old men and children and the firing. No, they have chosen the path of shutting their eyes to truth, suppressing it and deliberately preventing it from spreading by various ordinances and the like and then making an hysterical reference in praise of the police and the military. But we do not complain.

Lord Irwin also referred in his speech to what was said in the Lahore Presidential Address on the subject of violence and non-violence. It is always interesting to read a sermon on morals from one who does not practise them. If England was invaded by Germany and Russia, would Lord Irwin go about advising the people to refrain from violence against the invader? If he is not prepared to do that, let him not raise the issue. It is for Mahatma Gandhi and others who believe with him to do so.

So far as the speaker was concerned, he stuck by every word he had said in Lahore. They had adopted the policy of non-violence because they believed in it and they wished to give it the fullest trial in all honesty. Recent events have conclusively shown the wonderful efficacy of that policy and he, for one, hoped that the country would stick to it and thereby achieve success.

But let there be no mistake about it. Whether I agree with him or not, my heart is full of admiration for courage and self-sacrifice of a man like Bhagat Singh. Courage of the Bhagat Singh type is exceedingly rare. If the Viceroy expects us to refrain from admiring this wonderful courage and the high purpose behind it, he is mistaken. Let him ask his own heart what he would have felt if Bhagat Singh had been an Englishman and acted for England.

Coming to the programme ahead of them, he said that so far as the main items were concerned like the boycott of foreign cloth, the boycott of British goods, prohibition and the Salt Tax, there could be no compromise on any of these issues. I express my deep appreciation of the attitude of merchants which has brought about the wonderful boycott of foreign cloth. I want to make it clear, however, that no Congress Committee has any right or authority to come to terms with any foreign cloth dealers except on the basis of complete exclusion of foreign cloth from the market. The various no-tax campaigns going on in all parts of the country will have to be extended soon to other parts.

The first phase of the great struggle has come to end and has been marked by a national awakening to which the world has been an admiring witness.

Now the second stage is beginning, the stage of our laying the foundations of a future free India. Every city, every mohalla, every village must now play its part in this effort by making itself ready to become a living self-dependent entity in free India. We must be prepared only not to pay any taxes to the British Government but also to do without any service which they may render to us. While lawyers argue and raise their petty quibbles in London, we Indians will fight for the reality, the conquest of power.

V

The Romance of Independence Day

[*Even among the most sordid surroundings, Jawaharlal does not forget the essential cheerfulness of human struggle. There is a touch of light and loveliness about Nehru's message on Independence Day, January 1939. He relished the taking of the pledge in the Pushto language, of which he had picked up a few words, and the good company of the brave Pathans : that was in 1938. Next year he was in Almora, " another frontier district of India " bordering on Tibet, as Peshawar borders on Afghanistan. Thus Jawaharlal had the unique honour of presiding over Independence Day Celebrations in two successive years on two different frontiers of India*].

A year ago I stood in Bannu Town ' Independence Day', surrounded by a host of Khudai Khidmatgars and other men of the Frontier. We took the pledge together, and as was fitting, we took it in the Pushtu language. I had picked up a few words of this language during my Frontier tour, and I tried to repeat the pledge, word by word, together with the assembled multitude. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, that gaunt and well-beloved figure of the North, was the leader of this solemn chorus, and above our heads floated proudly the National Flag, emblem of that independence to which we pledged ourselves.

That day Khan Sahib took me to many other towns and villages, and everywhere this solemn and significant ceremony was repeated and the pledge taken. The memory of that day clings to me and the earnest Pathan faces, taking that vow of freedom, form an unforgettable picture in my mind.

To them it was no empty ritual, no ceremony without inner meaning, but a vital real thing, symbolizing the long suppressed desire of these hearts, which found some expression in words of promise and power. Thus we sealed our bond of brotherhood in the great cause of India's freedom.

To-day I take the pledge again in another frontier district of India, for Almora, though nearer to the heart of India, is yet one

of the frontiers of this country bordering on Tibet and Nepal. Another multitude gathers together from the distant valleys and the mountain tops, peasant folk from the border land of Askote, a week's journey from here, and men and women from this ancient town of the eternal snows, to take the pledge of Independence.

Eight years have passed since we took this pledge for the first time, years heavy with sorrow for us and struggle, but also with a measure of triumph and achievement. But though success has come to us, we know its meagre worth, and the promised land has yet to be reached when this pledge of ours will redeem itself.

And the World War rages in the Far East and in Spain to the accompaniment of incredible and inhuman atrocities, and the black night of reaction covers Europe. Multitudes, tortured beyond endurance, become refugees and wander from one country to another, seeking home and shelter and finding none.

What then does our pledge mean to us to-day, what significance does it have? Has it grown stale and meaningless through too much repetition, or is it still the vital spark of old which fired us to action and brave endeavour? Have we grown tired and complacent, tied by offices and the petty routine of administration, thinking in terms of compromise? Have we forgotten that we still form part of a slave empire which exploits us and keeps us embedded in dire poverty, and which strangles freedom wherever in this world it fights for breath? Is it in this Empire that we will find redemption of our pledge?

There are some amongst us, whose memory is of the shortest, who have already forgotten the pledge they took and the many brave resolutions that they made. But we do not forget and we will not allow others to forget. We have pledged ourselves to win full independence, to put an end to imperialism in India, to sever our connection with the Empire that encircles us. By the pledge we stand.

We stand by it even more than we did eight years ago, for that Empire has added to its sins by the butchery of democracy and freedom in Central Europe and Spain, and the crushing of the Arab people in Palestine. We will not forget this and fight against it in war or peace. We shall fight this policy which hands over the world to fascism.

We stand by that pledge even more to-day because we have seen what petty change has come to us by provincial autonomy, and how imperialism still sits entrenched in the citadels. We see how India's will is repeatedly ignored in the interests of British

finance and industry. We see from day to day the employment of British power to crush the people of the state. Rampura is a wilderness to-day, and armed troops gather there from distant parts of India in order to terrorize the people of the Orissa State. In Jaipur, an English Prime Minister dares to challenge not only the people of the State but the Congress organization itself, a challenge that will be accepted. Everywhere it is becoming apparent, the struggle in the States is not with the helpless rulers but with the grim might of British Imperialism.

Is this the way in which the British Government seeks the co-operation of the nationalist movement in the provincial autonomy and endeavours to prepare ground for federation? We have had enough of this foolery, and the sooner it is ended the better.

The time has gone by for empty and misleading tasks. We are up against the hard realities of the situation, and the pledge we take to-day tells us what path we have to tread and what our inevitable goal is. There is going to be no federation except a federation of a free India. To think or talk in other terms is to betray our pledge and to dishonour ourselves and our cause.

There will be no federation, and the provincial autonomy of to-day must itself fade away and give place to an independent India, a bulwark of democracy and freedom, opposing fascism and imperialism alike. That is the meaning of the pledge.

And so we take the pledge, realizing its full significance and preparing ourselves for all that it involves. There is no peace or quiet for us or anyone else in the world to-day. We have to keep our knapsacks on our backs and be ready for the order to march. The people of Europe, in the vicious grip of fascism and its allies, the Governments of England and France, stumble helplessly and seek in vain a path through the darkness that envelopes them. But our path is clear.

VI

Distaste for England

(Bombay, September 26, 1945.)

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, said at a press conference that he had developed a distaste for the idea of going to England. He was replying to a question about a Congress mission going abroad to put the Congress case before America and England.

Pt. Nehru said he did not think that there was any psychological need at the moment for such a mission. Besides, there was more urgent work to be done in the country now.

"My reaction to the proposal to go to England is stronger," said Pandit Nehru. "I do not want to go and will not go unless a vital necessity arises. In the past, I have wanted to go to England, because I have many friends there. But I have developed a distaste to the idea of going to England now."

Pandit Nehru added that it was but fair that well-meaning members of the Labour Party knew how India felt. "They do not realise that the people in India are not satisfied with their pious platitudes about Indian freedom."

Raising his voice, Pandit Nehru said, "there is going to be no approach from us to the Labour Government, either as individuals or groups in England or India. Therefore, there can be no point in my going to England."

There was less likelihood of a civil war in India than in some other countries of Asia and Europe, was Pandit Nehru's reply to a question whether he thought there would be civil war in India on the withdrawal of British power.

Pandit Nehru said that a large number of countries outside India were faced with the prospect of internal troubles in coming years. India would have its share of them, but he, personally, did not think of a civil war in terms of a communal clash which many people seemed to be doing. India's troubles would be of the kind that inevitably follow the transference of power. Thus, for example, when a foreign government failed to meet the wishes of the people, there was reaction of one kind, whereas if a government of the people delayed the redress of the people's grievances there was reaction of a different kind. But these troubles in India, would not be in the nature of a civil war.

Pandit Nehru was asked what his attitude would be to an Anglo-American attempt to set up an anti-Russian bloc in Asia. Pandit Nehru said that like all other countries, India would inevitably regard its attitude in foreign matters in terms of its own interests. "In doing so," Pandit Nehru said, "India's likes and dislikes will, no doubt, play some part. India's reaction to what Britain and America may do will largely depend on America's and Russia's policy towards India."

SECOND SECTION

Political Education

Few leaders have taken such profound pains in imparting political education to the youth of India as Jawaharlal Nehru has done. Off and on he has taken them to task for misbehaviour, and off and on he has spurred them on to ceaseless activity with an affectionate embrace. In this section are comprised some of the most memorable messages which he issued to the youth of India in different parts of the country. He has always strove to bring home to the youth of Burma and Ceylon that they are parts of India and they must fraternize with the Indian youth instead of shunting them out of their territories, because merely political boundaries set up by the imperialist power should not divide our home.

I

To the Youth of Bombay

[*In this speech there is a strong invitation to young men and women to revolt, not so much against British imperialism as against the imperialism of society, tradition, religion and a slavish mentality. It is the full text of Jawaharlal's presidential address delivered at the Bombay Presidency Youth Conference held at Poona on the 12th of December, 1928. Youth is the very embodiment of revolt and revolt is the very quintessence of youth. Consequently, don't forget the spirit of adventure and dare-devilry*].

Friends and Comrades.

I am a little tired and weary of conferences and a little doubtful of the extent of their utility. But even though my enthusiasm for conferences may have waned, my attraction to a conference of youths remains, for it is so unlike the gatherings of older folk. Many of you also, it may be, when

you grow older, may unhappily fall into the ancient ruts and forget the spirit of adventure and dare-devilry which was yours when you were young. But to-day you are young and full of enthusiasm and I, with the years creeping on me, have come to you to be a sharer in your abounding hope and courage and to take back with me to my daily work some measure of your faith and enthusiasm. I have come, because the call of youth is an imperative one and few can say no to it, and when this call came from you, young men and women of Bombay who have been the leaders in the recent awakening of youth in this country, I appreciated the honour all the more and gratefully accepted it.

Why do people meet in conferences? Why have you met here to-day? Not surely just to deliver speeches and listen to them or as a mere diversion from your work and play. Not simply to play a prominent part in the political or social arena, to become a celebrity and be intoxicated by the applause of the multitude. You have met here, I take it, because you are not content with things as they are and seek to change them. Because you do not believe that all is for the best in this best of all possible worlds. Because you feel the weight on your young shoulders of the sorrow and misery of this country and this world of ours, and with the energy and fine temper of youth you believe that you have it in you to remove this load of sorrow or at least to lessen its weight. If this is the urge that has brought you here, then you have met well and out of your meetings and deliberations something of permanent good might emerge. But if you are not dissatisfied with existing conditions, if you have not felt this urge which makes you restless and drives and lashes you to action, then wherein do you differ from the gathering of older people who talk and debate and argue much and act little? It is not those who are continually seeking security and have made a god of discretion who reform the world. It is not the sleek and shiny people having more than their share of this world's goods who are the apostles of change. The world changes and progresses because of those who are disaffected and dissatisfied and who are not prepared to tolerate the evils and injustice of things as they are or have them.

The basis of society is some measure of security and stability. Without security and stability there could be no society or social life, but how many to-day in our present day society have this security and stability? You know that the millions have it not; they have hardly food enough to keep body and soul together and it is a mockery to speak to them of security. So long as the masses do not share in this security, you can have no stable society. And so you see in the history of the world revolution after revolution, not because any group or person is a lover of bloodshed, anarchy and disorder, but because of this desire for greater security for larger number of persons. We shall have real security and

stability in this world only when it has come to signify the well-being of the vast majority of the people, if not all, and not of small groups only. That time may not be near, but society is continually, sometimes it may even be a little blindly, struggling towards it. And the greater the struggle, the greater the urge to that end, the healthier and more vital the society. If this urge is wholly absent, society becomes static and lifeless and gradually withers away.

So long therefore as the world is not perfect, a healthy society must have the seeds of revolt in it. It must alternate between revolution and consideration. It is the function of youth to supply this dynamic element in society; to be the standard-bearers of revolt against all that is evil and to prevent older people from suppressing all social progress and movement by the mere weight of their inertia.

Many of you may wonder why I am addressing you in this somewhat academic vein. I do partly because I am no orator and platform hero and partly because I feel that most of our troubles are due to a false ideology. Foreign, political and economic domination is bad enough, but the acceptance by us of ideology of our rulers is to my mind even worse, for it stunts all efforts and sends us wandering aimlessly in blind alleys with no opening. I want, therefore, as far as I can, to get my own thinking straight and to remove the cobwebs from my brain and I should like you also to do likewise. It will do us little good to repeat the political catch-words of the day without clear thinking on our part as to what we are aiming at and how we can attain our goal. I shall welcome your agreement with me but that would mean little if it has not been preceded by thought and conviction. I am much more concerned with finding in you a true appreciation of the present condition of the world, a passionate desire to better it, and an earnest spirit of enquiry as to what to do and how to do it. Reject utterly what I say to you if you think it is wrong. But reject also everything, however, hallowed it may be by tradition and convention and religious sanction, if your reason tells you that it is wrong or unsuited to the present condition. For "religions" as the Chinese say, "are many, but reason is one."

What do we find in this world of ours to-day? Utter misery is the lot of vast numbers of people and while a few live in luxury, the many lack even bread and clothing and have no opportunity for development. Wars and conflicts ravage the world and the energy that should go to build up a better order of society is spent largely in mutual competition and destruction. If that is the condition of the world at large, what of our own unhappy country? Foreign rule has reduced her to utmost

poverty and misery and a rigid adherence to outworn customs and ideas has sapped the life out of her.

There is obviously something radically wrong with the world and one is led to doubt if there is any ultimate purpose behind this chaos and unhappiness. Two thousand five hundred years ago the Prince Siddhartha, who later became the Great Buddha, saw this misery and in agony of spirit put himself the same question :

How can be that Brahma

Would make a world and keep it miserable ?

Since if all powerful He leaves it so,

He is not good, and if not powerful,

He is not God !

But whether there is any ultimate purpose or not, the immediate purpose of every human being should be to reduce this misery and to help in building up a better society, and a better society must necessarily aim at the elimination of all domination of one nation over another or of man over man. It must replace competition by co-operation.

You have probably often condemned British imperialism because you suffer under it. But have you thought it is but a manifestation, certainly the most objectionable and aggressive manifestation, of a world phenomenon ? And that this world imperialism is the direct outcome of a system of society which prevails in the greater part of the world to-day and is called capitalism. Your immediate problem and mine is to gain political freedom for our country, but this is only part of the problem facing us. So long as imperialism is not rooted out, mankind will be exploited and oppressed by a few. It may be that some of us may join the ranks of the exploiters, but that will not bring freedom to the many. We must aim, therefore, at the destruction of all imperialism and the reconstruction of society on another basis. That basis must be one of co-operation, and that is another name for socialism. Our national ideal must, therefore, be the establishment of a co-operative socialist commonwealth and our international ideal a world federation of socialist states.

Before we approach our ideal, we have to combat two sets of opponents—political and social. We have to overcome our alien rulers as well as the social reactionaries of India. In the past we have seen the curious phenomenon in India of the political extremist sometimes being a reactionary in social matters, and not unoften the political moderate has been socially more advanced. But it is impossible to separate the political life of the country from its social and economic life and you cannot cure the social

organism by treating one part of it only. The infection from one affected part continually spreads to other parts and the disease takes firmer root. Your political and social philosophy must, therefore, be a complete whole and your programme must comprise every department of national activity.

It is clear to-day, even if there was some doubt of it in the past, that the social reactionary is the ally of those who wish to keep India in subjection. If any proof was needed of this self-evident fact, the events of the past few months have provided it. You have seen and you have helped in the magnificent boycott of the Simon Commission. You have also seen how some people and some groups have co-operated with this Commission and joined in welcoming it in defiance of the national will. Who are these people and these groups? Almost invariably you will find that they are the social reactionaries, communalists, those who want favours and privileges for themselves at the expense of the larger community.

An even more striking instance of the alliance of political and social reaction is the attitude of the present Government in India towards measures of social reform. Efforts made by the representatives of the people to get rid of harmful social customs are checkmated by Government and our society cannot progress sufficiently fast or adapt itself to changing circumstances largely because of official opposition. The British Government of India have become the self-constituted guardians of Hindu and Muslim customs and traditions. Recently in the debates in the Assembly on the Public Safety Bill, it was a touching sight to see the spokesmen of Government waxing eloquent on the beauties of Hindu and Islamic ideals of society and pointing out in woeful accents the terrible upheavals that would follow the spread of socialistic and communistic ideas. It would almost appear that the British occupants of the official benches in the Assembly were on the verge of being won over by the enthusiasts for *Shuddhi* or *Tabligh*—it was not quite clear which they favoured most. It is a strange sight with a moral that none can miss, to see the Christian rulers of India pretending to become the bulwarks of Hinduism and Islam.

Religion has in the past often been used as an opiate to dull men's desire for freedom. Kings and Emperors have exploited it for their own benefit and led people to believe in their divine right to rule. Priests and other privileged classes have claimed a divine sanction for their privileges. And with the aid of religion the masses have been told that their miseries are due to kismat or the sins of a former age. Women have been and are still kept down and

in the name of religion in many places are made to submit to that barbarous relic of an earlier age—the *purdah* system. The depressed or the suppressed classes cry out to the world how infamously religion has been exploited to keep them down and prevent them from rising. Religion has been the fountain head of authoritarianism and meek submission and it is because our rulers realise this and because their own rule is based on this ideology of authoritarianism that they seek to bolster up its cruder manifestations in India. If the spirit of intellectual revolt spreads to ancient custom and tradition, then the very basis of authoritarianism crumbles and takes with it the foundation of British Rule.

In India to-day and indeed in the world there is a great deal of argument and debate on matters political and social. From all this argument two sets of opposing ideas emerge. One is the reformist idea which believes in a gradual betterment with the consent of those in power or in positions of privilege to-day. It believes in a slow evolutionary process. In the political field it believes in the achievement of Dominion Status by agreement or consent of the British ; in the economic field it relies on a gradual conquest of power from the capitalist and the landholder with their consent also, though this may be grudging and partial ; in the purely social domain reforms are to come by the slow displacement of the parties of privilege. The other idea is the revolutionary one which seeks rapid change and does not believe in the holders of power ever giving it up unless they are forced to do so. Consent comes in here also ; but it is the unwilling and forced consent of the vanquished.

These rival ideas are fighting for mastery to-day. There is little doubt as to which will emerge victorious in the end. To a large extent both the evolutionary and the revolutionary methods work side by side. Every revolution is preceded by a process of evolution and preparation. But the difference in ideology is of vital importance and therefore it becomes essential for you to make your choice and throw all your strength and might on the side you favour.

If any of you believe tha you can force power out of those who possess to-day by sweet reason and argument, then all I can say is that you have not read history with much profit, nor have paid much heed to recent events in India. The problem before us is the problem of the conquest of power. In our Councils and Assemblies where fine speeches, however strongly worded they may be, do not affect the seat of power, we see an outward show of argument and reason, although even then the attitude of official spokesmen is often insulting and overbearing. But go outside to the fields and the market-place and you will find that whenever there is a clash between the popular will and the will of the Government, however peaceful the people may be, the Government meets them, not by argument and reason, but by the bayonet and the policeman's baton, by shooting and sometimes by martial law. The fundamental fact of the situation is the bayonet

and baton. How can you argue or be sweetly reasonable with cold steel and dead wood? You must meet them, if you wish to overcome them, by other methods; by the development of sanctions greater and more powerful than the bayonet and baton that face you.

The Government, it is said, must preserve law and order. What matters it, if this results in the gravest disorder and in death and injury to the people? Every Indian knows the crimes that have been and are being committed in the name of law and order, and yet there are some of us still who are obsessed by this notion. Law and order are the last refuge of the reactionary, of the tyrant and of him who has power and refuses to part with it. There can be no law or order till freedom comes, for as the French philosopher Proudhon said, "Liberty is not the daughter but the mother of order."

The advocates of reformism make earnest and eloquent pleas for change. With an advocate's zeal they try to score fine legal points over their adversaries. But their forensic ability is wasted on their opponents who carry on unmoved, well knowing that their power is not threatened by such method; it rests on the solid steel of the bayonet. And unhappily even the common man on whose behalf the reformists argue, is unmoved, by their argument. He does not understand it, nor is any great attempt made to make him understand. All the energy is spent in compromises between the leaders, in efforts to lull various vested interests and the masses are ignored. Is it any wonder that the masses in their turn remain apathetic and do not respond to the call of leaders? The head of the nation is so far away from the rest of of the body that the trunk can hardly see it.

It is not thus that freedom has been won and greater changes brought about. The voice that claims it must be the voice of revolt, the dull and threatening roar from a hundred thousand and a million throats, not the sweetly modulated tone of an accomplished debator. When that voice is raised, England, as she has always done in the past, will bow to the inevitable. But if that voice is not raised, do not imagine that you can hoax or trick the English people out of power.

The voise of the masses will only be raised if you put before them an ideal and a programme which affects them and improves their economic condition. And when raised, it will only be followed by action if the end in view is worth the struggle and sacrifice.

The governor of the province I come from, recently, following the tradition of his tribe, gave advice to the Taluqdars of Oudh. He told them to choose their allies wisely. That advice I heartily commend to you although it is highly probable that my choice and

yours will be very different from that of Governor Hailey. In choosing your allies you have to see who are the vital elements in the nation and who are the parties ; who are going to profit by the freedom of India and who are those who profit by the British exploitation of your country. Choose the former and do not waste your time and energy in trying to appease or win over the latter. Above all ally yourself to the masses of the country—the peasantry and the industrial workers—and think in terms of them when you envisage a free India. And if you do so, you will automatically avoid the pitfalls of reformism and petty compromise. You will have your pulse on reality and your programme will be a live programme with the sanction of the masses behind it. And freedom for the masses must inevitably mean the end of British as well as all other exploitation. It must mean the independence of India and the reconstruction of Indian society on the basis of social and economic equality.

The freedom of India is dear to all of us here. But there may be many here who have the ordinary convenience of life and are not hard put to it to find their daily bread. **Our desire for freedom is a thing more of the mind than of the body, although even our bodies often suffer for the lack of freedom. But to the vast masses of our fellow-countrymen present conditions spell hunger and deepest poverty, and empty stomach and a bare back. For them freedom is a vital bodily necessity, and it is primarily to give them food and clothing and the ordinary amenities of life that we should strive for freedom.** The most amazing and terrible thing about India is her poverty. It is not a dispensation from Providence or an inevitable condition of society. India has enough or can have enough for all her children if an alien government and some of her own sons did not corner the good things and so deprive the masses of their dues. "Poverty," said Ruskin, "is not due to natural inferiority of the poor or the inscrutable laws of God, or drink, but because others have picked their pockets." And the control of wealth by the few not only means the unhappiness of many, but it exercises a power over men's minds so that they do not wish for freedom. It is this mental outlook which paralyses the poor and the oppressed and it is this mentality of defeatism that you will have to fight.

You have been the leaders of the youth movement in India and you have built up a strong and living organism. But remember that organisations and institutions are passive instruments of man. They become living and vital only when they are pushed onward by the strength of great ideas. Have great ideals before you and do not lower them by ignorable compromise. Look deep down to where the millions toil in field and factory and look across the frontiers of India to where others like you are facing

problems similar to yours. Be national, the sons and daughters of your ancient motherland working for her liberation; and be international, members of the Republic of Youth, which knows no boundaries or frontiers or nationalities and works for the liberation of the world from all thraldom and injustice. "To do great things," said a Frenchman many years ago, "a man must live as if he had never to die." None of us can evade death, but youth at least does not think of it. Old men work for the span of years that still remains for them; the young work for eternity.

II

To the Youth of Bengal

[If a youth cannot be scratched out of his lethargy by this message, he cannot be stirred at all. This s the full text af the presidential address delivered at the All-Bengal Students' Conference held in Calcutta on S ptember 22, 1928. The youth must awaken themselves, says Nehru, if they are not to be caugh napping and build the International Commonwealth of Youth. The future of the world lies in the hands of the world youth.]

Young men and women of Bengal,

You have done me honour in inviting me to preside over this gathering of the youths of Bengal, and I am grateful for it. But I have wondered what you wished me to say or do, what kind of message to deliver. I have no special message and you know well that **I am no weaver of the fine phrases or trafficker in eloquence. To Bengal, justly known for her warm-hearted eloquence and love of art and beauty and passionate emotionalism you have invited a dweller from the colder and sometimes much hotter regions of the north, whose ancestors came not so very long ago from the barren and snow-covered mountains that overlook the vast Indian plain, and I am afraid I carry with me something of the coldness and hardness of that mountain climate.** A very great leader of Bengal and of our country, whose memory we revere to-day, once called me very justly "cold-blooded." I plead guilty to the charge, and since you have taken the risk of inviting me you will have to bear with my cold-bloodedness.

I have begun by drawing your attention to certain minor differences between us, a Kashmiri settled in the heart of Hindustan, which is now called the United Provinces, and the residents of Bengal—and yet you all know how unimportant these differences are and how strong are the common bonds that tie us—the bonds of a common legacy from the past, of common suffering and the hope of building up a great future for this country of yours and mine. And, indeed, you can carry the comparison a

little farther across the artificial frontiers that separate country from country. We are told of vital differences of race and character. Such differences there undoubtedly are but how many of them are purely accidental due to climate and environment and education and how liable to change they are. You will find that the common bond is greater and more vital than the differences, though many of us may not realize the fact.

It is the realisation of the common bond of humanity that has given rise to the great youth movement of to-day. Many of you may be too young to remember the despair and feeling of revolt in the minds of youth during, and specially after, the Great War. Old men sat in their comfortable cabinets and banking houses and hid their selfishness and greed and lies under a cover of fine phrases and appeals for freedom and democracy. And the young believing in these fine phrases, went out by the millions to face death, and few returned. Seventy millions of them were mobilised and of the fifteen millions that actually served on the front, over eight millions died and over five-and-a-half millions were maimed for life. Think of these terrible figures and then remember that they were all young men with their lives stretching out in front of them and their hopes unfulfilled ! And what did this awful sacrifice bring forth ? A peace of violence and an aggravation of all the ills that the world was suffering from. You remember well that the first fruits of the peace in India were the Rowlatt Act and Martial Law. You know also how the fine principle of self-determination, which the Allies shouted from the house-tops, has been applied to India and to other countries. A new cloak for the greed of the imperialist powers was created in the shape of mandates and in awarding mandates the " principal consideration " was to be the preference of the inhabitants. This preference was shown unaccountably by rebellion against the British in Mesopotamia and rebellion against the French in Syria. But the aeroplane and the bomb was the British answer in Iraq and the ancient and beautiful city of Damascus was reduced to ruins by the French. In Europe itself the peace created far more problems than it solved.

Is it any wonder that the youths of the world rebelled and cast out their old-time leaders on whom even terrible lesson of the war was lost, and who still went on intriguing in the old way, and prepared for yet another and a greater war ? Youth set about organising itself and set out to find the ways and means of establishing an order of society which would put an end to the misery and conflicts of to-day.

And so the youth of the world probed deeper into the cause of present-day misery. They studied the economic and the social conditions of the people, and they saw that although science and the changes that science had brought, had in a few generations covered the track of centuries, the

minds of men still lagged behind and thought in terms of a dead past. Science had made the world international and interdependent, but national rivalries continued and resulted in war. Science had vastly increased production and there was enough for all and to spare but poverty continued and the contrasts between luxury and misery were more marked than ever before. But if mankind is foolish and errs, facts do not adapt themselves to errors and the world of our imagination conflicts with the world of reality and is it any wonder that chaos and misery result?

Facts are not to blame for this. The troubles and the difficulties lie rooted in things in our misconception of them and our misinterpretation of them. Our elders fail frequently because they are rigid in their minds and unable to change their mental outlook or adapt themselves to changing facts. But youth is not hidebound. Youth can think and is not afraid of the consequences of thought. Do not imagine that thought is an easy matter or that its consequences are trivial. Thought is not or should not be afraid of the wrath of heavens or the terrors of hell. It is the most revolutionary thing on earth. And it is because youth dare think and dare act that it holds out the promise of taking out this country and this world of ours from the ruts and the mire in which they have sunk.

Are you, young men and women of Bengal, going to dare to think and dare to act? Are you prepared to stand shoulder to shoulder with the youth of the world, not only to free your country from an insolent and alien rule but also to establish in this unhappy world of ours a better and a happier society? That is the problem before you and if you wish to face it sincerely and fearlessly, you will have to make up your mind to rid yourselves and your country of every obstacle in your path whether it is placed by our alien rulers or has the prestige of ancient custom.

You must have your ideal clear-cut before you. How else can you hope to build the great structure of your dream? Can you build a palace on the foundations of a mud-hut, or a fine bridge with straw? With definite ideas of your goal you will gain clearness of purpose and effectiveness of action and each step that you take will carry you nearer to your heart's desire.

What shall this ideal be? National independence and perfect freedom to develope on the lines of our own choosing is the essential requisite of all progress. Without it there can be no political, economic or social freedom. But national independence should not mean for us merely an addition to the warring groups of nations. It should be a step towards the creation of a world

commonwealth of nations in which we can assist in the fullest measure to bring about co-operation and world harmony.

But there can be no world co-operation as long as one country dominates over and exploits another and one group or class exploits another. Therefore, we shall have to put an end to all exploitation of man by man or woman by woman. You cannot have a purely political ideal, for politics is after all only a small part of life, although situated as we are under alien rule, it dominates every branch of our activity. Your ideal must be a complete whole and must comprise life as it is to-day, economic, social as well as political. It can only be a social equality in the widest sense and equality of opportunity for every one. It is notorious that we have neither of these to-day.

Our womenfolk, in spite of the great examples of old that we are so fond of repeating, are shackled and unfree. Large classes of our countrymen have been deliberately suppressed by us in the past and denied all opportunities of growth in the name of religion and ancient practice. And all over India, we see to-day millions toiling in field and factory and starving in spite of their toil. How can we rid these millions of their dire poverty and misery and make them share in the freedom to come? We hear of the service of the poor and sometimes even of the exaltation of the poor. And by a little act of charity or service we imagine that our duty is done. Having reserved very magnanimously the kingdom of heaven for poor we take good care to keep the kingdom of the earth for ourselves. Youth at least should be above this hypocrisy. Poverty is not a good thing; it is not to be exalted or praised but an evil thing which must be fought and stamped out. The poor require no petty services from us or charity. They want to cease to be poor. That can only come by your changing a system which produces poverty and misery.

In the course of the last few months you have seen the whole of India convulsed in labour troubles. Lock-outs and strikes and shootings have followed one after another. Is it amusing, do you think, to the worker to strike and starve and perhaps be shot? Surely no one does so unless his lot becomes unbearable. And indeed the lot of the Indian to-day in factory or field is past all endurance. In the jute mills of your province, the profits and reserve accumulations in ten years before 1926 amounted to nearly 440 crores of rupees. Think of this enormous figure and then see the condition of poor workers in these mills. And yet the jute workers, miserable as they are, have gone there because there was no room for them on the land or their conditions on the land were even worse. Can you expect any peace in the land when there is so much misery and so much contrast between wealth and abject poverty?

You cannot ignore these problems or leave them to a future age for solution.

And if you are afraid of tackling them, you will find that facts can only be ignored at your peril. We are sometimes told that we must do justice between landlord and tenant and capitalist and worker, and justice means the maintenance of the *status quo*. It is the kind of justice the League of Nations gives when it maintains the present *status quo* with the imperialist powers dominating and exploiting half the earth. When the *status quo* itself is rank injustice, those who desire to maintain it must be considered as upholders of that injustice.

If your ideal is to be one of social equality and a world federation, then perforce we must work for a socialist state. The word socialism frightens many people in this country but that matters little for fear is their constant companion. Ignorant of everything important that has happened in the world of thought since they left their school books, they fear what they do not and will not understand.

It is for you, the youth of the country, to appreciate the new forces and ideas that are convulsing the world and to apply them to your own country. For socialism is the only hope for a distraught world to-day. It is interesting to note that during the great war when a great crisis threatened to engulf the nations of the West, even the capitalist countries of Europe were forced to adopt socialistic measures to a large extent. This was not only done internally in each country, but also enable it to resist the pressure of events, even internationally. There was co-operation in many fields and national boundaries seemed to recede into the back. There was economic co-operation of the closest kind, ultimately even the armies of many nations became one army under a single head. But the lesson of the war has been lost and again we drift towards a greater disaster.

Socialism frightens some of our friends, but what of communism? Our elders sitting in their council chambers shake their grey heads and stroke their beards in alarm at the mere mention of the word.

And yet I doubt if any of them has the slightest knowledge of what communism is. You have read of the two new measures which are being rushed through the Assembly—one of them to throttle the Trade Union Movement, and the other to keep out people whom the Government suspects of communism. Has it struck you that it is a very curious thing that the mighty British Empire with all its tanks and aeroplanes and dreadnaughts should be afraid of a few individuals who come to spread a new idea? What is there in this new idea that the British Empire should collapse like a pack of cards before this airy nothing? Surely you could not have better evidence of the weakness of this giant empire which sprawls over the fairest portions

of the earth's surface. It is giant with feet of clay. But if an idea is a dangerous thing, it is also a very elusive thing. It crosses frontiers and customs barriers without paying any duty, and bayonets and men of war cannot stop it. The Government of India must be strangely lacking in intelligence if they imagine that they can stop any ideas from entering India by legislation.

What is this communist idea before which the British Empire quakes? I do not propose to discuss it here, but I wish to tell you that though personally I do not agree with many of the methods of the communists, and I am by no means sure to what extent communism can suit present conditions in India, I do believe in communism as an ideal of society. For essentially it is socialism, and socialism, I think, is the only way if the world is to escape disaster.

And Russia, what of her? An outcaste like us from nations and much slandered and often erring. But in spite of her many mistakes she stands to-day as the greatest opponent of imperialism and her record with the nations of the East has been just and generous. In China, Turkey and Persia of her own free-will she gave up her valuable rights and concessions, whilst the British bombarded the crowded Chinese cities and killed Chinamen by the hundreds because they dared to protest against British imperialism.

In the city of Tabriz in Persia, when the Russian Ambassador first came, he called the populace together and on behalf of the Russian nation tendered formal apology for the sins of the Tzars. Russia goes to the East as equal, not as a conqueror or a race-proud superior. Is it any wonder that she is welcomed?

Some of you may go in after years to foreign countries for your studies. If you go to England, you will realise in full measure what race prejudice is. If you go to the Continent of Europe, you will be more welcome whether you go to France or Germany or Italy. If any of you go to Russia, you will see how racial feeling is utterly absent and the Chinamen who throng the universities of Moscow are treated just like others.

I have placed before you the ideals of internationalism and socialism as the only ideals worthy of the fine temper of youth. Internationalism can of course only come to us through national independence. It cannot come through the British Empire or the British Commonwealth of Nations, call it what you will for that Empire is to-day the greatest foe of internationalism. If in future England chooses to enter a real World Federation none will welcome her more than we, but she will have to shed her imperialism before she can enter. Our quarrel is not with the people of England but with the imperialism of England.

I have laid stress on internationalism although it may be a distant ideal for us. But the world is already largedy international, although we may not realise it. And situated as we are, the reaction against foreign rule is apt to make us narrowly national. We talk of the greatness of India, of her special mission to the world and we love to dwell on her past. It is well that we remember our past, for it was great and worth remembering. But it is for age to look back, youth's eyes should be turned to the future. And I have often wondered if there is any country in the world, any people who do not fancy that they have a special mission for the world. England has her white man's burden which she insists on carrying in spite of the ungrateful people who object and rebel ; France has her mission of Civilisation ; America is God's own country ; Germany has Kulture ; Italy has her new gospel of Fascism ; and Russia her Communism. And it has been so always. The Jews were the elect of the Lord, and so were the Arabs. Does it not strike you as strange that every country should have the identical notion of having a special mission to reform the world, to enrich its culture in some way, and none need lay claim to being the chosen of the Lord ?

Self-admiration is always a dangerous thing in an individual. It is equally dangerous in the nation, for it makes it self-satisfied and indolent and the world passes by leaving it behind. We have little enough reason to be satisfied with our present lot, with many of our customs, with our excessive religiosity, with the sad lot of our women and the terrible condition of the masses. What good does it do us to waste our energy and our time in chanting praises of the dead past when the present claims our attention and work awaits us ? The world changes and is changing rapidly and if we cannot adapt our society to the new conditions, we are doomed to perish. We have seen what can be done in a brief span of years and even months by a Kamal Pasha or an Amanullah who were not afraid to break through ancient custom and prejudice. What has been done in Turkey and backward Afghanistan can be done in India. But it can only be done in the manner of Kamal Pasha or Amanullah, by fearlessly facing obstacles and removing them and not waiting till the crack of doom for slow reform. It is not a choice for you as it was not a choice for Turkey or Afghanistan, between slow or rapid reform. It is a choice between extinction and immediate action. Turkey and Afghanistan chose the latter path and are reckoned to-day as great nations. What will your choice be ?

The world is in a bad way and India especially is in a perilous state in spite of glitter and superficial splendour of our great cities. There are rumours of war and awful prophecies that next war may result in irretrievable disaster to civilisation. But the very excess of evil may hasten the cure.

Great men have come from age to age in this country and elsewhere to help mankind. But greater than any man is the idea which he has embodied. And the conception of Dharma changes from age to age, and in a changing world a custom that was good in the past may be perilous to society to-day. You do not go to Bombay to-day in a bullock-cart or fight with bows and arrows. Why stick to customs which were good only in the days of the bullock-cart and bows and arrows ?

And the great men who have come have always been rebels against the existing order. Two thousand five hundred years ago the great Buddha proclaimed his gospel of social equality and fought against all privileges, priestly and otherwise. He was a champion of the people against all who sought to exploit them. Then came another great rebel, Christ and then the Prophet of Arabia, who did not hesitate to break and change almost everything he found. They were Realists who saw that the world had outgrown its ancient practices and sought to bring it back to reality. Even so we have outgrown the creeds and rituals of yesterday and as realists we must not hesitate to discard them wherever they clash with reality. The *avatars* of to-day are great ideas which come to reform the world. And the idea of the day is social equality. Let us listen to it and become its instruments to transform the world and make it a better place to live in.

I may be a weak instrument capable of doing little by myself in spite of my ardent desire to do much. And you individually may be able to do little. But you and I together can do much and working with the awakened youth of this country we can and will achieve a great deal. For youth only can save this country and the world. I do not admire the Fascists but I admire them for having as their war-cry a hymn to youth : *Giovinezza.* And I wish you would also adopt their motto " Live dangerously." Let our elders seek security and stability. Our quest must be adventure, but adventure in a noble enterprise which promises to bring peace to a distracted world and security and stability to the millions who have it not.

You and I are Indians and to India we owe much, but we are human beings also and to humanity we also owe a debt. Let us be citizens of the commonwealth or Empire of youth. This is the only empire to which we can owe allegiance, for that is the forerunner of the future federation of the world.

III

To the Youth of Lanka

(Bombay, October 9, 1945)

" Politically India is certain to be a free and independent country and will, therefore, rapidly develop industrially and otherwise. She is likely to become the centre for defence purposes and trade for Southern and South-East Asia. It is my hope that regional agreements within the four corners of a world agreement will bind together all these countries of the South and South-East Asia." Thus observed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a message to the youth of Ceylon.

Pt. Nehru writes : " During the last 14 years or so ever since my visit to Lanka in the summer of 1931, I often thought of this subject. That visit and the subsequent visit as well as my reading of history and current events brought home the fact that Lanka and India are so closely connected that they must inevitably be associated with each other politically and otherwise in future. For India perhaps this is not such an important matter as India minus Lanka will yet be a great power. But for Lanka this connection is vital. This has been my faith all these years, but I always made it clear that this question of closer association must be decided by Lanka herself and she must feel perfectly free to choose.

Culturally, racially and linguistically Lanka is as much a part of India as any province. But all these considerations might be overridden by political and economic developments. As a matter of fact it is these political and economic considerations that point inevitably to a closer union. Lanka's trade must of necessity be largely with India, any attempt to look elsewhere will produce instability and insecurity.

" If some such development takes place, Lanka must hold on to this grouping presumably as an autonomous unit of the Indian federation. In any event she cannot remain isolated and stand by herself in the modern world. She must be associated with some larger group. What group can that be except the Indian Federation. Association with England is not likely to be profitable, feasible or desirable. Besides the British Empire is a fading institution.

" Admission into the Indian Federation should not limit Lanka's freedom except in regard to certain minimum federal subjects such as defence. I am in favour of having the compulsory minimum of federal subjects as well as additional optional federal subjects. This would enable some of the federating

units to have a closer bond and more centralised government and at the same time give greater freedom to some units. The choice should be that of the unit.

" While I regret the existing tension between India and Lanka I do not attach great importance to it. I consider it rather superficial. It is due to the faults on both sides and narrowness of outlook which forgets to-morrow and concentrates on to-day. I think Indians in Lanka or some of them have shown little wisdom in demanding special safeguards for their interests and special representation. They had no business to make any reservations or qualifications to their support of full freedom for Lanka. I think also certain leaders in Lanka have not acted wisely in denying the Indian residents certain fundamental rights and in treating them as less than citizens. It is obvious that India can never accept any position for her childern anywhere which is not that of perfect equality. At the same time I am opposed to any kind of exploitation of Lanka and her people by Indian business. The first consideration must always be food of the people.

" It is for the young generation in India and Lanka to get over these petty squabbles and view the future in a proper perspective. The only picture for the public is that of a closer union between the two and the people of two countries co-operating together in the great task ahead.

IV

To the Youth of the Punjab

(Lahore, November 9, 1945.)

" To the youth of the Punjab, who are so full of generous enthusiasm but at the same time often lacking in discipline, I want to say that the time is coming soon when disciplined service will count far more than mere enthusiasm. I know that they are capable of this if they turn their minds to it. Great changes are coming over India and great responsibilities will await those who are capable of shouldering them. So prepare for them and forget the petty questions and squabbles of the day. The Punjab must play a brave part in the days to come. That part ultimately depends on the youth.

In the present, I would call upon them to help in every way in the coming Assembly elections by supporting Congress candidates. This support is not meant so much for individual as for principles—the principles and objectives for which the Congress stands. Each Congress candidate is a standard bearer of the cause of freedom and India's independence. The measure of the success of Congress candidates will be the measure of the country's adherence to independence. That will determine the next great step forward. So it becomes essential for us to do our utmost for the success of the Congress at the elections."

THIRD SECTION

Conflict of Ideals

Everywhere in this world there is a conflict of idealogies. World War Number Two was a conflagration of these ideals. These political contradictorinesses have also inflicted themselves on India's war-of-nerves between patriots and reactionaries. In this section have been compiled such speeches of Jawaharlal as depict the dilemmas in which India has been inextricably trapped, thanks to the awry politics of British imperialists.

I

Freedom Face Fascism

[*Three months before the outbreak of Second World War, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru granted a special interview to the representative of the* **Times of India** *on May 3, 1939. Jawaharlal Nehru had prophetically visioned the dreadful foot of war treading heavily in the shades of summer. He told the public that the people of India stood on the horns of dilemma, between the Scylla of fascism and Charybidis of imperialism. How can India fight for the freedom of England with out having her own ? And yet how could India help fighting against the hordes of fascism ?*]

A certain seeming contradiction arises in regard to our policy towards war. On the one hand we are anti-Fascists and we think that a Fascist world victory will be not only disastrous for the world as a whole but bad for our own freedom. Therefore, inevitably, we do not want a Fascist.

On the other hand supporting British Imperialism is obviously a wrong policy for a country dominated by that imperialism. The contradiction really does not lie in our approach to the question. If we think of the question in terms of a free India, obviously we are led to the conclusion that we should support the forces of Democracy as opposed to Fascism. If we think in terms of a subject India, we are lead to the conclusion that we cannot support dominating Imperialism. The conflict is resolved when the subjection is removed and a free India can choose her own policy in regard to war and peace as well as other matters.

Then again, even apart from this, to imagine that the present British Government is a champion of democracy is a difficult undertaking. If it was in favour of real democracy, its first function should be to introduce democracy in its empire. The mere fact of

not doing so and resisting it is sufficient evidence that it is not democracy which it seeks but the perpetuation of its imperialism....."

Pandit Nehru asked whether, granting all that he had said, India would not stand heavily to lose in the event of Britain going under in a life-and-death struggle with totalitarianism unaided by friends of democracy, replied :

" India as well as the rest of the world certainly stands to suffer greatly if Fascism dominates the world. India does not suffer alone, if British Imperialism fades away. The suggestion that England would prefer defeat rather than a fair deal to the empire and a liquidation of her Imperialism is itself significant. All the major questions in the world to-day, whether those of Europe or the Far East, political or economic, fascist or imperialist, are tied up, and it is difficult to consider one without the other. The question of Indian freedom is not only intimately related to these other questions, but in a sense is a crucial one, having a tremendous bearing on the solution of the other question. To establish Indian independence leads inevitably to the ending of British Imperialism and to England becoming a really democratic front against Fascism. That is the real answer to Herr Hitler's demand for colonies. The struggle with Fascism then is a straight one."

" Therefore, for British statesmen to try to keep the question of Indian independence apart from the other issues, is to seek to evade the crux of the question and by seeking a seeming temporary advantage to injure the cause of democracy and of England....."

II

Patriotism Faces Imperialism

[This extract from Jawaharlal Nehru's statement at his trial held in Gorakhpur Prison on November 3, 1940, is a reminder of the Individual Satyagraha launched by Mahatma Gandhi to oppose Britain's war efforts. In this speech Jawarharlal " the symbol of nationalism " lucidly explains to the prosecution judge " the symbol of imperialism " why the British Government has no right to drag India into the war without consulting the representatives of the Indian people.]

It is not my intention to give details of the many errors and mistakes in these reports. That would mean rewriting them completely. That would waste your time, sir, and mine and would serve little purpose. I am not here to defend myself, and perhaps, what I say in this statement, will make your task easier. I do not

yet know the exact nature of the charge against me. I gather that it has something to do with the Defence of India Rules and that it relates to my reference to war and to the attempts being made to compel the people of India not to take part in the war effort. If that is so, I shall gladly admit the charge. It is not necessary to go to garbled reports to find out what I or other Congressmen say in regard to India and the war. The Congress resolutions and statements, carefully and precisely-worded, are there for all the world to know. By those resolutions and statements I stand, and I consider it my duty to take the message of the Congress to the people of India.

If I was chosen, or if before me Shri Vinoba Bhave was chosen for this purpose, it was not to give expression to our individual views. We were symbols who spoke the mind of India, or, at any rate, of the vast number of people of India. **As individuals we may have counted for little, but as such symbols and representatives of the Indian people we counted for a great deal. In the name of those people we asserted their right to freedom and to decide for themselves what they should do and what they would not do ; we challenged the right of any other authority, by whomsoever constituted, to deprive them of this right and force its will upon them.** No individual or group of individuals, not deriving authority from the Indian people and not responsible to them in any way, should impose their will upon them and thrust the hundreds of millions of India, without any reference to them or their representatives, into a mighty war which was none of their seeking. It was amazing and full of significance that this should be done in the name of freedom and self-determination and democracy, for which it was alleged the war was being waged.

WE WILL NO LONGER BE SLAVES

We were slow in coming to our final conclusions ; we hesitated and parlayed, we sought a way out honourable to all the parties concerned. We failed, and the inevitable conclusion was forced upon us that, so far as the British Government or their representatives were concerned, we were still looked upon as chattel to do their will and to continue to be exploited in their imperialist structure ; that was the position which we could never tolerate, whatever the consequence.

There are very few persons in India, I suppose, whether they are Indian or Englishmen, who have for years past so consistently raised their voice against Fascism and Nazism as I have done. My whole nature rebelled against them, and on many an occasion I vehemently criticized the pro-Fascist and appeasement policy of the British Government. Ever since the invasion of Manchuria, and subsequently in Abyssinia, Central Europe, Spain and

China, I saw with pain and anguish how country after country was betrayed in the name of this appeasement and how the lamps of liberty were being put out. I realized that imperialism, or else its own ideological foundations were weakened. It had to choose between this liquidating itself in favour of democractic freedom. There was no middle way.

So long as appeasement applied to Manchuri a, Abyssinia, Zecho-Slovakia, Spain and Albania, to "far-away countries about which few people had ever heard," as the then Prime Minister of England put it, did not matter much and was faithfully pursued. But when it came nearer home and threatened the British Empire itself the clash came and war began.

Again there were two alternatives before the British Government and each Government engaged in the war, to continue to function in the old imperialist way or to end this in their domains and become the leaders of the urge for freedom and revolutionary change the world over. They chose the former, though they still talked in terms of freedom and it was even in words limited to Europe and evidently meant freedom to carry on with their Empire in the old way. Not even peril and disaster have weakened their intention to hold on to their Empire and enforce their will upon subject people.

In India we have had a year of war government. The people's elected Legislatures have been suspended and ignored, and a greater and more widespread autocracy prevails here than anywhere else in the world. Recent measures have suppressed completely such limited freedom as the press possessed to give facts and opinions. If this is the prelude to the freedom that is promised us, or to the "New Order" about which so much is said, then we can well imagine what the later stages will be when England emerges as a full-blooded Fascist State.

This war has led already to widespread destruction and will lead to even greater horror and misery. With those who suffer we sympathize deeply and in all sincerity. But unles the war has a revolutionary aim of ending the present order and substituting something based on freedom and co-operation, it will lead to a continuation of war and utmost destruction.

WHY WE MUST DISSOCIATE

That is why we must dissociate ourselves from this war and advise our people to do likewise and not help in any way with money or men. That is our bounden duty. But even apart from this, the treatment accorded to the Indian people during the past

year by the British authorities, the latter's attempt to encourage every disruptive and reactionary tendency, their forcible realization of money for the war from even the poor of India and their repeated efforts to Indian nationalism, are such that we can never forget or ignore. No self-respecting people can tolerate such behaviour and the people of India have no intention of tolerating it. **I stand before you, Sir, as an individual being tried for certain offences against the State. You are a symbol of that State. But I am something more than an individual also ; I, too, am a symbol at the present moment, a symbol of Indian nationalism, resolved to break away from the British Empire and achieve the Independence of India. It is not me that you are seeking to judge and condemn, but rather the hundred of millions of the people of India, and that is a large task even for a proud Empire. Perhaps it may be that, though I am standing before you on my trial, it is the British Empire itself that is on its trial before the bar of the world.** There are more powerful forces at work in the world to-day than courts of law, there are elemental urges for freedom and food and security which are moving vast masses of the people, and history is being moulded by them. The future recorder of this history might well say that in hour of supreme trial, the Government of Britain and the people of Britain failed because they could not adapt themselves to a changing world. He may muse over the fate of empire which has always fallen because of this weakness and call it destiny. Certain causes inevitably produce certain results. We know the causes, the results are inexorably in their train.

III

Congress Faces Muslim League

[*It was the Viceroy of India who declared war on behalf of India. The Indian people had no voice in deciding the ssue. The Indian National Congress, in consistence with its policy, strongly protested against the action of the British Government. The Muslim League, directly in contradiction with its resolution on independence, supported War, and helped John Bull to tighten its grip on the Indian masses. This speech of Jawaharlal will be remembered long after India has attained independence, because it embodies the heroic stand taken by the Congress in the face af overwhelming odds.*]

The Congress Working Committee's statement of September 14 clarified the whole position, crystallizing nationalist opinion and giving clear expression to it. That statement immediately evoked a remarkable response in India. What innumerable people had been feeling vaguely in their minds and hearts was clarified and put down in stately language. Doubts were resolved, many a perplexity vanished, for it seemed that the people of India had found voice and pointed to the world the inevitable path which had to be followed if our present-day problems were to be solved. And the world listened.

The progressive in England hailed it ; in democratic America it received considerable publicity ; even in war-ridden Europe it evoked a response. People of suppressed and subject nations saw in it a charter for the oppressed. It was in tune with the spirit of the times.

All that has happened since then has been a logical development of that invitation of the Congress Working Committee for a clarification of war aims. Lord Zetland's speech after A.I.C.C. meeting, the Viceroy's statement, the Muslim League's resolutions in the Provincial Assemblies, and the inevitable resignations of the Congress Ministries have all followed each other in ordered sequence, throwing a flood of light on the Indian scene.

What does this light show ? First of all, the high statesmanship and wisdom of the Congress, which stands justified to-day before India and the world. Holding to its ideals and its previous declarations, it has applied them to changing and difficult circumstances, and thus demonstrated that it has the capacity to be idealistic and practical at the same time. The freedom of India, for which it stands, has been woven into the larger picture of world freedom and war and peace aims and a practical solution offered for the world's ills.

Secondly, the true nature of this war has become evident. The reply of the British Government to the Congress shows beyond a doubt that they are moved now, as before by a desire to preserve their imperialist interests. This is no democratic war in which the forces of democracy are ranged on one side against the forces of Nazism and reaction on the other. True, there are some democratic forces, on the side of the Allies, but the governments that control the destinies of England and France, are the old discredited governments which must bear responsibility for the present unhappy state of Europe.

We cannot forget Munich and Spain. To-day the French Government is a citadel of reaction, and need we say more about the British Government than that Mr. Neville Chamberlain is still (1939) the Prime Minister ? We knew all this and yet it was necessary that all doubt should be removed from the minds of the people and that reality should emerge out of the fog of war.

The reality has come and it is not beautiful to look at and not all the fine phrasing of Sir Samuel Hoare can rejuvenate the aged and the decrepit. Imperialism is a tottering structure to-day, wholly out of place in modern conditions, but the British ruling class will think in its terms and seek to preserve it. They are even afraid to make a clear declaration about India's freedom. This Imperialism is not in love with the minorities or even the Princes (though it utilizes both to serve its main purpose) ; it is mainly concerned with







Man of Mind and Might. Jawaharlal allows his head, heart and hands to play their appropriate roles in conveying his innermost feelings, profoundest thoughts and most valuable observations to the millions of his countrymen from Ceylon to Srinagar. Unlike Hitler and Mussolini who displayed an exuberance of feelings, a masterly suppression of emotions marks the speeches of Jawaharlal.





The most Chosen among the Chosen, Jawaharlal is the Leader of the Leaders. Whether replying to an address or engaged in an easy discussion, the elite of India listen to him with rapt attention.

British financial and other vested interests in India. "It is an axiom of Indian politics that there can be no compromise between Imperialism and Indian Nationalism and freedom. Whatever the phase of our struggle that hostility has persisted. The Congress offer was that Imperialism should be ended, the Independence of India recognised, and this age-long hostility should give place to friendship and co-operation. That offer has been rejected and we go our separate ways till fate or circumstances unite us again.

Thirdly, the position of the Muslim League has been cleared up beyond any possibility of misunderstanding. We had welcomed the League's acceptance of Independence as its objective three years ago and the widening of the basis of its membership. But we were soon to realize that the old politically reactionary outlook held the field still. Under cover of communal propaganda, the Muslim masses were prevented from realizing this. We are not for the moment discussing the communal demands of the League. They may be right or wrong. It is conceivable for a person to be a communalist and yet an ardent believer in political freedom, though at some stage or other, a conflict will arise between these two loyalties. The Congress has often erred in the petty issues of politics, but it has always shown an unerring instinct whenever a major issue arose. The League, on the other hand, has a remarkable record of being wrong on the major issues, though it may occasionally be right on some trivial matter.

It is a tragedy that at this supreme crisis in our national history the League should have sided with full-blooded reaction. We do not believe that many of its own members agree with this attitude. We are certain that the Muslim masses are firm adherents of Indian freedom. In some communal matters the League may represent them, but it certainly does not do so in matters political.

INDIA'S DEFENCE

A war policy for a nation must inevitably first take into consideration the defence of the country. India must feel that she is taking part in her own defence and in preserving her own freedom as well as helping in the struggle for freedom elsewhere. The army will have to be considered a National Army, and not a mercenary force owing allegiance to some one else. It is on this national basis that recruitment should take place, so that our soldiers should not merely be cannon-fodder but fighters for their country and for freedom.

In addition to this it will be necessary to have a large-scale organisation for Civil Defence on a militia basis. All this can be done by a popular government.

Even more important is the development of Industries to supply war and other needs. Industries must develop on a vast scale in India during the war-time. They must not be allowed to grow in a haphazard way, but should be planned and controlled in the national interest and with due safeguards for workers. The National Planning Committee can be of great assistance in this work.

As the war progresses and consumes more and more commodities, planned production and distribution will be organised all over the world, and gradually a world planned economy will appear. The capitalist system will recede into the background, and it may be that international control of Industry will take its place. India, as an important producer, must have a say in any such control.

Finally, India must speak as a free nation at the Peace Conference. We have endeavoured to indicate what the War and Peace aims of those who speak for democracy should be and in particular how they should be applied to India. The list is not exhaustive, but it is solid foundation to build upon, and an incentive for the great efforts needed. We have not touched upon the problem of a reorganisation of the world after the war, though we think some such re-organisation essential and inevitable.

Will the statesmen and peoples of the world, and especially of the warring countries, be wise and far-seeing enough to follow the path we have pointed out? We do not know. But here in India, let us forget our differences, our Leftism and Rightism, and think of these vital problems that face us and insistently demand solution. The world is pregnant with possibilities. It has no pity at any time for the weak or the ineffective or the dis-united. To-day when nations fight desperately for survival, only those who are far-seeing and disciplined and united in action will play a role in the history that is being made.

IV

Hindustan Faces Pakistan

[*Pandit Jawaharlal Nheru has expressed his views freely, frankly, fully, fearlessly and forcibly against Pakistan. "There is no place for Pakistan, in this age of Atomic Bomb," he said. The following is the press report of his views on Pakistan expressed at Lahore on July 17, Srinagar on August 2, Lahore on the re urn journey August 25, and Delhi, August 29, 1945*]

"Separate electorates must got. All the present communal troubles in India are due to separate electorates," said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing a press conference at the residence of the President of the Punjab Congress.

Asked whether after the failure of the Simla Conference, the Congress would resume Congress Ministries in the Provinces, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that the resumption of Ministries was not a question of opinion but it depended on the conditions prevailing in the country Under the present conditions it was inconceivable to form Ministries.

Asked whether communal settlement was necessary for political settlement, he said theoretically it was not essential. The removal of untouchability, and settlement between Hindus and Muslims would obviously make India's freedom battle easier, but it might happen that "before these things are totally achieved India attains freedom." The foundation of progressive and stable society and state were harmony, unity and social equality. Unless they were achieved there would be a constant obstruction to the running of government. If communal unity was achieved beforehand, nothing like that.

Pandit Nehru, continuing, said that the dispute between the Congress and the League was not over seats in the Executive council. The fundamental principles of the Congress were involved. The Congress had grown on national foundation. It was not possible for the Congress to give up its fundamentals. That would mean killing the Congress that exists to-day.

Referring to the recent stand of the Muslim League, Pandit said that the League's approach was based on disunity of India and on mediæval type of society. He said by this he meant a religious group functioning as a political one.

The Congress had its political programme—to fight for Complete Independence of all irrespective of caste and creed. Its door was open to all communities, who believed in its politics. This made it a political body. On the other hand the Muslim League's door was not open to all but to Muslims alone. This made it a religious group attempting to function as a political group, which gave it mediæval character.

NO PAKISTAN

Pt. Nehru said that he was opposed to division of India, not because he had any sentimental attachment to united India. It was his progressive and modern mind that made him believe that united India could make us a powerful state. "A divided India will be like a weak state, Iraq and Iran, which in fact were not sovereign but just satellite powers, which stood at the mercy of great nations."

Pakistan, he said, was no solution of the communal problem. In both the zones, minorities would remain. Moreover country could not be divided on religious basis. Protestants and Catholics lived together as the same nation. This was a point over which everyrone should pon-

der seriously. This was a poser to the Muslim League also." The League can demand separation only of those areas where the Muslims are in an overwhelming majority. It must be remembered that this means division of the Punjab and Bengal. You cannot ask people of those areas of Bengal and the Punjab where non-Muslims are in majority to go with Pakistan. Will the Punjabis or Bengalis, whether Muslims or Hindus, like their provinces which are homogeneous linguistic units to be divided ? These are the problems to be faced. If the Muslims want separation, no power can stop them, but I myself shall try my best to convince all that separation is not in the interest of anyone, certainly not of the Muslims."

Moreover, he said, Muslim League's approach itself was self-contradictory. "You cannot cut the head with the idea of restoring it." Therefore, the solution, Panditji suggested, was that there should be semi-independent autonomous provinces with all possible protection to the minorities —cultural, linguistic and religious.

Asked since the Simla Conference had failed, what would be the future programme of the Congress, Pandit Nehru said "the Congress will take stock of the whole situation—all that happened since 1942, and will lay emphasis on the work of re-organisation."-

It was difficult to say for how long, in the circumstance, would the present world survive. In view of this state of the world, the questions like that of Pakistan raised in India had no use and were meaningless.

To-day the state of the countries in Europe, Pt. Nehru said, was even worse than the Indian States. The need of the hour was that instead of raising slogans of Pakistan and putting forth schemes of division, small countries should join in the Federation to save themselves from destruction. India, he said, was a vast country and instead of raising these minor issues of Pakistan, they should think of planning and increasing the resources and of the removal of unemployment. He and the Congress were thinking of forming a Federation of Free India with other countries, but these minor questions of Pakistan and the like diverted their attention from the real issues. It was a pity that the communal organisations in India made the demand for freedom as conditional. They did not treat it as the first and foremost demand. It was due to fear and mistrust of each other. The Sikhs and the Muslims were brave communities and they had nothing to fear from the Hindus. The Congress had declared that Pakistan was injurious both to India as a whole and to those who demanded it. However, if the Musalmans insisted on it they would have it. But Pakistan appeared to him to be an impracticable problem. The Congress had conceded the right of self-determination to the Muslims, but the question was how the Pakistan was to be enforced. They should consider it with a cool head. It was a great complicated

problem and that was why the Muslim League had not so far defined it. If Pakistan was given, then parts of the Punjab and Bengal, where the Hindu population was in majority, would join Hindustan and both Punjab and Bengal would have to be divided. He could not imagine for a moment that any sensible Punjabi or Bengali would like their province to be divided into two parts when their culture and language were the same.

Pakistan was only a sentimental slogan and unless it was defined, who would give it and who would take it?

If the Punjab, Pt. Nehru said, was divided into two parts, the wealthy part with majority of Hindus and Sikhs would go to Hindustan and Pakistan would not be sound financially also.

These problems, he said, would not demand solution by the Congress or the British Government or any one else. But they would be solved of their own accord in accordance with the conditions prevailing in the world. He was sure that even if India was divided, the division would be temporary.

Proceeding, Pandit Nehru referred to happenings of 1942 and said that it was impossible for India to bear the insult to the flag of Indian Independence and its bearers and those who laid down their lives for upkeeping the prestige of India were martyrs and he appreciated their sacrifice.

Continuing his speech, Pandit Nehru said that not only India but the whole world was passing through a critical phase. It was not India alone which was faced with complicated problems, but such problems arose in other countries also. In this rapidly changing world they should not get nervous but should be ready to solve these problems with calmness. Such problems were bound to arise, when India was marching fast towards freedom.

"The Congress is strongly of the opinion that India should not be divided into units. The need of the hour, both for economic and defensive reasons, was that India should remain a united country. Small States in the world of to-morrow have no future in store and they are sure to be reduced to the static satellite States like Iraq and Iran. The tendency of Big Powers is to form federation or confederation. India will be finished if it is divided. I stand for a South Asia Federation of India, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan and Burma." These observations were made by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru in response to a suggestion contained in an address which Sheikh Abdullah, the Kashmir Leader presented to Pt. Nehru on the occasion of a public reception held in Pt. Nehru's honour at Hazuri Bagh.

Sheikh Abdullah had in his address requested Pt. Nehru to persuade the Congress to declare self-determination of nationalities as an integral part of Congress programme.

RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR GROUPS

Pt. Nehru, replying to the address in the presence of one lakh of people said that the main problem before them was the freedom of India and all other problems would be solved after Indian Independence has been achieved. Congress had already acceded the right of self-determination of nationalities. Pt. Nehru made it clear that he did not want to force any unit to remain in bigger India, but it must also be remembered that if a unit wanted to remain aloof, then within itself he shall have to give the same right of self-determination to others as it liked to have it for itself. He asserted that he stood for the right of self-determination for groups even.

Replying to another suggestion made by Sheikh Abdullah, who had pleaded for immediate communal settlement, Pt. Nehru said that efforts had been made by the Congress during the last decade for settlement of the communal issue, but he regretted that each time the door had been banged against the Congress. Vested interests appeared to stand for *status quo*. If somebody did not want settlement of the communal issue, what could the Congress do? He regretted that under the cloak of religion, disruptive tendencies were being encouraged and India's progress was being retarded in the name of religion by interested persons.

Pt. Nehru proceeding declared, "Those who continue to stand in our way and retard our progress towards the goal of freedom shall have to be removed. Pt. Nehru added that India was stronger to-day for what had happened during the last three years and had enhanced our prestige.

"*In this age of Atomic Bomb and the rapidly changing world, problems like that of Pakistan have no bearing and use. The real problem for various countries is not that of separation but of confederation and unification to save themselves from destruction.*" *Thus declared Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing a mammoth gathering of about two lakhs at the Kapurthala House grounds to-night.*

The meeting was timed to be held at 9 p. m. but people started pouring in from the city in unending streams from 7 p. m. and by the scheduled time the whole spacious grounds, the roads nearby and the balconies of the Kapurthala House and the surrounding buildings were packed to capacity. About 10,000 women were present. The loud speakers unfortunately failed and pandemonium prevailed for full two hours. The atmosphere being very close about twelve persons including Bibi Amar Kaur, fainted and had to be removed to the rostrum, fanned and ultimately taken to their houses.

Pandit Jawaharlal, who arrived at the meeting at about 9-30, was greeted with thunderous slogans of " Pt. Nehru Zindabad." He felt annoyed at the failure of loud speakers and took the organisers of the meeting to task.

After waiting for full two hours, Pandit Jawaharlal rose to speak. He said that he had gone to see the rapidly changing world from the high peaks of mountains and to compare it with the world of the past 25 years and to think of the past and future of India. There was no doubt that India, for the freedom of which they were fighting to-day, was a great country in ages gone by. India ruled over various other countries of Asia, and its civilisation and culture spread far and wide.

But why was it that India had gone down to-day and was under foreign bondage ? It was because of the narrowness of our vision. There was misuse of religion. When the world was experiencing rapid revolutions, it was a pity that Indians were sticking on to their old things. Mistrust and partisan spirit and communal bickerings were looming large in India.

Pandit Nehru said that the use of Atomic bombs had destroyed five lakhs of people in two cities of Japan. Nippon had been compelled to surrender. In spite of their victory, Pt. Nehru said, the British had been reduced to a second-rate power as a result of the present war ; America and Russia remained the first-rate powers. Revolutions were coming in the world, countries were thinking how to save themselves from destruction by combining but in India they were still fighting among themselves, not only for offices but for position and power in political parties. After the Jallianwala tragedy 25 years ago, India was changing to-day and drifting rapidly towards revolution. The Congress was the only organisation which was responsible for awakening among the masses in India and fighting for their freedom. The Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and other communal organisations were opposing the Congress to-day. But the Congress was their mother. These organisations had so far confined themselves to copying the Congress in adopting resolutions and wanted to achieve their object by mere threats. They were not prepared to put them to test and danger as the Congress was doing. He asked the Indians to understand the changing world and to avoid partisan spirit and strife.

Referring to the demand of Pakistan by the Muslim League, Pandit Nehru said that the problem of Pakistan had no use for the world in this age of Atomic Bombs. It became ineffective and had no bearing in these days of development of science. The problem before the various countries was not to separate but to confederate to save themselves from destruction. The scheme of Pakistan aimed at division of India in small parts. The view of the Indian National Congress was that the scheme of division of India was a dangerous scheme and could not facilitate the smooth working of Free India.

They did not want freedom for keeping one part of India under the sword of the other, but they wanted economic development of India. If some part of India insisted on separation, the Congress would try to persuade it not to do so, but if it wanted to go out of Hindustan the Congress would allow it to do so. Maulana Azad, Congress President, had made this clear in his statement.

This long story of Pakistan has no place in this fast changing world. The question of its acceptance and rejection does not arise because Mr. Jinnah, the League President, has not so far defined what he meant by it. Pakistan is not a thing in their pocket to be made over at a moment's notice.

If the Frontier Province, Punjab and Bengal demanded self-determination, the Congress would be prepared to give, said Pt. Nehru. He advised the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs of the Punjab and Bengal to think twice before embarking upon division of their provinces in two. They should bear in mind that, though their religions were different, their culture, civilisation and language were the same. He referred to the Bengal famine, which took toll of five million men. The problems of starvation and nakedness, he said, were the real problems in India and they could be solved only by the National Government. The Congress was the largest national organisation of India. The Congress alone could deliver goods : no communal organisation could speak for India. The Congress, he said, despite represssion, had come out successful and with double the force. The Congress, he said, was the only weapon for India's freedom. He appealed to the people to strengthen the Congress, an organisation which was fighting with the British Government and would not rest until India's independence was achieved.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in an informal chat with New Delhi journalists answered a [number of questions on diverse subjects such as Indian Communists and the Congress, atom bomb, Pakistan, elections and war criminals.

QUESTION OF SELF-DETERMINATION

The Congress President's statement on self-determination correctly represented the Congress view, said Pandit Nehru. The Congress position was that India should remain a national unit but with a vast deal of provincial autonomy for the federating units. But at the same time if the population of a unit specifically declared that they would not be in the common unit then the Congress would not compel them to stay in the unit. Thus the Congress recognised the right of separation or self-determination. He, however, thought it would be injurious to cut up India and set up communities and groups as separate states. That would be injurious to the defence, development and planning of the country.

Nonetheless if some units wanted to part company, they might do so, provided they did not also drag others who did not want to go. The decision must be taken by all the inhabitants. It should be territorial self-determination. He thought that once the freedom for separation was recognised, then the urge for separation would go. The question must be considered dispassionately. His personal views on the question were different. It did not matter whether India was one nation or more than two nations. There was hardly any satisfactory definition of a nation. It could be argued from historical, cultural, racial and a hundred other points. If hundred nations wanted to pull together, then it was one nation. If a particular community or group did not want to pull together with the rest of the country, then it did not matter whether it was one nation or two nations. I call it an alien element in the country, he said. It cannot be absorbed and you cannot digest it. Some way has to be found to suit both parts. Look at this whole theory of two nations. The theory is supposed to be based on religion. This is what I cannot understand in the modern context of the world. I have heard about it in the Middle Ages. Two nations of India are based on religion and they are interlocked in every village. It will be terribly difficult to transfer population. There will be tremendous upheaval. Suppose a division of India takes place on the basis of two-nation theory. Obviously in one part of the country there will be millions of people owing allegiance, according to this two-nation theory to another part of the country where one-tenth of the population will owe allegiance to the first part. We are not thinking of territorial loyalties here but religious loyalties. According to this theory the Hindus in the Muslim parts will be aliens and Muslims in Hindu parts will also be aliens. If you accept this theory all sorts of difficulties are bound to arise. Aliens could not be wholly incorporated in a state and in case of war they would become very dangerous elements.

V

Nationalism Faces Communism

(*Bewar, October 24, 1946*)

The cause of communism and the name of Russia have suffered most at the hands of the communist Party of India, said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a large public meeting.

The Communist Party, he said, was the one party that tried to do what the Congress could not do, namely, organise the national forces without an assurance of independence, and it failed.

Pandit Nehru said that he was not against communism or against Russia. He had himself popularised socialistic and communistic views in the past, but the role of the Communist Party of India had made all nationalist India its cent. per cent. opponent. Opposition to the Indian Communists was not merely political. The whole nation was angry with them.

When lakhs of Indians staked their all for the country's cause, added Pandit Nehru, the Communists were in the opposite camp, and this fact cannot be forgotten.

No other political organisation would deal so leniently with its opponents as the Congress had treated Communists, declared Pandit Nehru. For the Congress national independence was the prime objective, while the Communists gave primary importance to other isssues.

(Bombay, June 22, 1945).

Regarding the Indian Communists he said :

"Fundamentally, Communist policy is not from the standpoint of the country where it functions, but from the standpoint of Russian foreign policy. I have every sympathy for Russia and the great advance Russia has made but from many points of view, I do not think a nation's policy can be bound up by the Russian foreign policy. The general question is whether their policy has been injurious to the cause of India."

Pandit Nehru quoted instances of actions taken by great countries when faced with great national and international issues simultaneously such as Russian non-aggression pact with Germany and British policy before the start of the war and said : "Whenever there is a conflict between national and international, policy the former wins. If that is true of the great free countries it is infinitely more so in the case of a dependent country like India."

When the Pandit was pressed to say whether the Communists had not been pressing a Congress-League understanding and the release of Congress leaders, he said : "The Communists missed the chance of a life time in India during the last two or three years. They would have made themselves an enormously powerful party if they had functioned somewhat differently. At a critical moment in India's history, it was difficult to be neutral, but they went to the other side. They may be right but the approach was wrong."

VI

Dominion Status Faces Independence

[*Should India have Dominion Status or Complete Independence ? This is the vital problem before the country. Lord Wavell announced that the Elections would decide the issue. It is interesting to note the views of Pandit Nehru, the sanest Indian statesman. The following is the full text of his speech delivered on Wednesday, the 29th of August, 1928, at the All-Parties Conference at Lucknow on Pandit Malaviya's resolution dealing with Dominion Status for India.*]

The members of the Committee, whose report we are considering, have been good enough to commend a little bit of drudgery that I performed for them. It is a little ungracious of me to criticize their work, especially as, perhaps, I know more than any one else how hard they worked on this report.

Why was the Committee appointed ? We all know that it was appointed principally to find a solution for our communal difficulties. We were faced at Bombay by an impasse and no way out was visible then. Therefore, this Committee was appointed and not so much because it wss necessary to draft a fine constitution. Their report testifies to the measure of success that they have attained in finding this solution.

It is fair solution, just to all parties, and I earnestly trust that the conference will accept it.

Some of the other proposals that the Committee has made are to my thinking not so happy. *I am specially unable to reconcile myself to Dominion Status and all its implications.* What is the meaning of the resolution that we are considering ? The preamble tells us that it is open to us to carry on activity and propaganda for independence. But this is a mere flourish, meaning little. The second part of the resolution really commits every organisation and every individual for it to Dominion Status. The speeches in support of the motion, and specially that of the mover, made this even clearer. I wondered when I was listening to them, whether I was not attending a session of the Congress a generation ago. They embody an ideology of a past age utterly out of touch with facts and realities to-day. We were told of the injustice in not having Indian governors, Indians in the Service and in the Railway Board. Is this what we have met here for ? Is this our idea of freedom ? It seems to me that we are drifting back from the 20th century to the ways and methods of the 19th.

We are told that we must be practical, and being practical is taken to mean adherence to an outworn set of ideas, regardless of the changes that have happened in the world. The mover of resolution told us that he had learnt politics from John Stuart Mill and Green, the author of *The Short History of the Indian People*. Eminent

men they were, but may I remind him that they are dead and gone and much has happened since then ? They are dead as Queen Anne, as Charles I, as Louis XVI of France and as last Tzar of Russia. **The world has moved and changed, and if we are to be practical, let us take stock of the changes that the world has brought. What does the British Commonwealth of Nations, as it is now called, stand for ? It stands for one part domineering over and exploiting the other.** There are England and the self-governing dominions, exploiting India, parts of Africa, Malaya and other parts of the world. When we obtain Dominion Status, are we going to get promotion from the exploited part to that of the exploiting ? Are we going to assist England and the other Dominions in exploiting Egypt and Africa ? The thing is inevitable. Dominion Status for India must necessarily mean the break-up of the British Empire as it is to-day.

Then again we are told that Dominion Status may be obtained by consent, Independence only after an appeal to arms or force. I do not know if any one here imagines that Dominion Status is going to be achieved by sweet reasonableness and logic. If so, all I can say is that he is a very credulous individual. Dominion Status or Independence both require a sanction behind them, whether that is the sanction of armed force or non-violent force. You will get Dominion Status the moment you make it clear to the British people that unless it is granted they will stand to lose much more. You will get it when they feel that it will be hell for them in India unless they agreed to it. You will not get it by logic or fine phrases. In matters of this kind justice has little place. Therefore both for Independence and Dominion Status, a sanction and a force of some kind is necessary. Consent only follows the creation of the sanction. It cannot come without it. Alternatively if Dominion Status can be the result of an agreement between India and England, I see no reason why Independence also should not be agreed to between them. We may agree to certain safeguards, if necessary, for British interests, not because we consider that the British are entitled to any safeguards, but as the price of peace in order to avoid bloody warfare and great suffering. Perhaps, it is easier for me to co-operate with the British people than it is for many of those who talk of Dominion Status, but I cannot co-operate on their terms. I shall co-operate with them on equal terms only when I have some sanction and force behind me.

I am, therefore, interested much more in the creation of this sanction than a fine constitution. Do it by all means, but remember that in order to enforce it you must have a sanction and that applies both to Dominion Status and Independence. Do not be under any delusion that Dominion Status is a matter of consent and easily obtainable and that Independence is much more difficult of attain-

ment and can come only through war. **If India gets Dominion Status, it necessarily follows that we fit our foreign policy, with the foreign policy of England, that we support England in Egypt, China and elsewhere.** Indeed the report makes it clear that there should be a joint imperial policy. Are you prepared to be tied to the chariot-wheels of England in this way? Dominion Status involves co-operation between India and England.

Let us consider the various groups in England to-day. Are you going to co-operate with my Lords Birkenhead and Winterton or with Mr. Lloyd George of the 'Steel frame' fame, and his great supporter in the press, *The Manchester Guardian*, which has called this report, that we are considering; a piece of lunacy? Or will you co-operate with the valiant Jix, the Home-Secretary in England, who among his merits—and they are few—has certainly the quality of frankness, who stated that the English people had come to India, not for the benefit of India, but to fill their own pockets? Or will you co-operate with the sanctimonious and canting humbugs who lead the Labour Party in England? For my part, I would prefer to deal with the Birkenhead crowd than with Macdonald and Co. Whom, then, do you co-operate with in England? Nobody will have you, nobody will deal with you, but still you go on repeating the worn-out formula of making offers and compromises and convincing the British people. You will never do so till you develope the sanction and enforce your will. Therefore, I say to you with all humility that to talk of Dominion Status is to delude ourselves and to give the country an entirely wrong lead. The only practical goal is that of independence, and it is bad policy and worse tactics to agree in any shape or form to Dominion Status, even for a while and even as a compromise.

There is talk of unity amongst various parties and undoubtedly the gathering here is a very representative gathering. But I would beg of you to remember that we represent largely the intelligentia of this country only. We represent directly at any rate, the two or three or five per cent, in this country only. The whole country, as we all know, has been convulsed this year by labour troubles. Strikes, lock-outs, and shootings and the terrible misery involved in all these and the peasant troubles have taken place in different parts of the country. Yet what do you find in the report in regard to these matters? There is hardly anything except a few good principles in the Declaration of Rights and elsewhere. Only a few days ago the Government produced a measure, the Trade Disputes Bill, which is intended to stifle and prevent labour organization. What have we to say in regard to it? Still more recently a new measure has been produced to deal, it is said, with Bolshevik agitators in the country. He must be a simple enough person who imagines that a few Bolsheviks and the like or even hundreds of them can create all this labour trouble and peasant trouble in India. This measure is meant to apply to non-Indians. But we all know that there are enough measures in the Statute Book, like the Bengal Ordinance which can be made to apply to Indians. There is no necessity for any further enactments to Indians. This has been and is the consistent policy of England towards India.

Do you think it is right for us to claim Dominion Status and to put our seal in a way to this policy?

I do not submit that it would be a wrong thing and a fatal thing for India to make Dominion Status as our objeetive. Those of us who think with me have carefully considered this resolution and we have definitely come to the conclusion that we cannot support it. We do not desire, however, to hamper the work of this conference, because we feel that the principal work it has before it is the settlement of the communal issue. We are prepared to help in so far as we can in the settlement of this problem. We have, therefore, decided to dissociate ourselves entirely with this resolution and not to have anything to do with it by way of amendment or otherwise. If you will permit me, sir, I shall read out the statement which I have already placed in your hands on behalf of members of this conference.

This statement runs as follows :—

"We the signatories of this statement are of opinion that the consstitution of India should only be based on full independence. We feel that the resolution that has been placed before the All-Parties Conference definitely commits those who support it to a constitution based on what is termed Dominion Status. We are not prepared to accept and we, therefore, cannot accept or support this resolution. We recognise that the preamble to the resolution gives us right to carry on activity in favour of Independence, but this preamble does not in any way lessen the commitment contained in the second part of the resolution. We have decided, however, not to obstruct or hamper the work of this conference but we desire to record our considered opinion on this question and associate ourselves with this particular resolution in so far as it commits us to the acceptance of Dominion Status. We shall not take any part in this resolution by moving amendments or by voting on it. **We propose to carry on such activity as we consider proper and necessary in favour of Complete Independence.**"

FOURTH SECTION

Shape of Things to Come

The chief merit of Jawaharlal's speeches is his eternal chain of consistency. Never for a moment does he go astray from the political ideals which he keeps vividly in view. So thoroughly has he identified himself with the ideals of his party and his people that the principles of Jawaharlal are the policies of the Indian National Congress and the practices of the United Indian Nation still in its birth-pangs between the devil and the deep of British Imperialism and Jinnahian Pakistanism.

This section containing only three pieces is illustrative of continuity in Indian aspirations.

I

What India Stands For ?

[The world to-day stands on the brink of mighty convulsions Jawaharlal has declared in unmistakable terms that the peoples of the world are facing more thunderous changes than ever w tnessed by humanity since the dawn of civilization. We are living in the age of the atomic bomb, he says, which has changed the very conception of human existence. In this connection, it is worth while to read Pandit Nehru's presidential address at Lucknow in the 49th Session of the Congress on April 12, 1936, when the Nationalists were weighing the pros and cons of plunging into the battle of elections. The presidential address of Jawaharlal is prophetic, because the political doctrines which he formulated are more true to-day, when the world has come out of a baptism of fire than they were in 1936 when the rumblings of war in Europe were pretty far off. The speech is a magnificent documen of democracy, nutshelling the past, present and future of nationalism in India.]

COMRADES !

After many years I face you again from this tribune, many weary years of strife and turmoil and common suffering.

It is good for us to meet again, it is good for me to see this great host of old comrades and friends, linked together by strong bonds that cannot break, to sense the old brave spirit yet again, to feel your overwhelming kindness and good will to one whose greatest privilege it is to have been a comrade and a soldier with all of you in a mighty srtuggle for freedom. I am heartened and strengthened by you, though even in this great gathering I feel a little lonely. Many a dear comrade and friend has left us, worn out, long before the normal length of our earthly days, by the stress and strain of conflict. One by one they go, leaving a void in our hearts and a dull misery in our minds. They find peace from this turmoil perhaps, and it is well, for they deserved it. They rest after their labours.

But what of us who remain behind with a heavier burden to carry? **There is no rest for us or for those who languish in prison or in detention camp. We cannot rest, for rest is betrayal of those who have gone and in going handed the torch of freedom to us to keep alight; it is betrayal of the cause we have espoused and the pledge we have taken; it is betrayal of the millions who never rest.**

I am weary and I have come back like a tired child yearning for solace in the bosom of our common mother, India. That solace has come to me in overflowing measure, thousands of hands have been stretched out to me in love and sympathy, millions of silent voices have carried their massage of affection to my heart. How can I thank you, men and women of India? How can I express in words feelings that are too deep for utterance?

For many years now I have been a distant looker-on on this Indian scene where once I was an actor, and many a thing has happened that has filled me with distress and anguish. I do not wish to survey this recent past of ours, which must be fresh in your memory, and which has left a sorry trail behind and many knots which are difficult to unravel. But we may not ignore it for out of that past as well as the present, we have to build our future. We have followed high ideals and we have taken pride in the fact that our means are worthy of those ideals. We have been witnesses of many a miracle in this old and battered land of ours and yet our very success has been followed by failure and disillusion. **Temporary failure has little significance when the aim is high and the struggle bound to be a long one; it is but the incentive to further effort. Often it teaches us more than a victory easily won and becomes a prelude to a greater success. But we profit by it only if we learn its lesson and search our minds for an explanation of that failure.** Only by constant self-questioning, individual and national, can we keep on the right path. An easy and

unthinking confidence is almost as bad as a weak submission to helpless dejection. Real failure comes only when we forget our ideals, objectives and principles and begin to wander away from the road which leads to their realization.

In this crisis of our history, therefore, let us look into ourselves and examine, without pity or prejudice, what we have done and what others have done to us, and seek to find out where we stand to-day. We dare not delude ourselves or evade real issues for fear of offending others, even though some of these others are comrades whom we respect. That is the way of self-deception which none who seek great and vital changes can follow except at their peril.

Sixteen years ago, under the inspiration of our leader, we took a new and long step towards converting the Congress from an ineffective body, feebly unctioning amongst the classes into a powerful democratic organization with its roots in the Indian soil and the vast masses who live on it. A handful of our old friends, representing an age and a class which had had its day, left us, fearful of this democratic upsurge and preferring the shelter and protection of British imperialism to joining hands with the new vital forces which convulsed the country and struggled for freedom. Historically they lapsed into the past. But we have heard the rumbling of those forces and, for the moment, lined up with them and played a not unworthy part in current history. We sensed the new spirit of mass release, of psychological escape from the cramping effects of long subjection; we gloried in the breaking of the mental bonds that ecompassed us. And because our minds became free, we felt that political freedom could not be far, for it is often harder to break the bonds of the spirit than physical bonds and chains of iron and steel. We represented the Spirit of the Age and were marching step by step with countless others in our country and outside. The exhilaration of being in tune with the masses and with world forces came upon us and the feeling that we were the agents of historic destiny.

We were engrossed in our national struggle and the turn it took before the powerful impress of our great leader and of our national genius. We were hardly conscious then of what was happening outside. And yet our struggle was but part of far wider struggle for freedom, and the forces that moved us were moving millions of people all over the world and driving them into action. All Asia was astir from the Mediterranean to the Far East, from the Islamic West to the Buddhist East; Africa responded to the new spirit; Europe, broken up by the war, was struggling to find a new equilibrium. And right across a vast area in Europe and Asia, in the Soviet territories, a new conception of human freedom and social equality fought desperately against a host of enemies. There were great differences in the many aspects of this freedom-struggle all over the world, and we were misled by them and did not see the common background. Yet if we are to understand these varied

phenomena, and derive a lesson from them for our own national struggle, we must try to see and understand the whole picture. And if we do so, we cannot fail to observe an organic connection between them which endures through changing situations. If once we grasp this organic bond, the world situation becomes easier to understand and our own national problems take their proper places in the wider picture. We realise then that we cannot isolate India or the Indian problem from that of the rest of the world. To do so is to ignore the real forces that are shaping events and to cut ourselves adrift from the vital energy that flows from them. To do so, again, is to fail to understand the significance of our own problems, and if we do not understand this, how can we solve them? We are apt to lose ourselves as we have indeed done, in petty conflicts and minor questions like the communal problem, and forget the major issues; we are apt to waste our energy (as our moderate friends do) in interminable discussions over legal quibbles and constitutional questions.

During the troubled aftermath of the Great War came revolutionary changes in Europe and Asia, and the intensification of the struggle for social freedom in Europe, and a new aggressive nationalism in the countries of Asia. There were ups and downs, and sometimes it appeared as if the revolutionary urge had exhausted itself and things were settling down. But economic and political conditions were such that there could be no settling down, the existing structure could no longer cope with these new conditions, and all its efforts to do so were vain and fruitless. Everywhere conflict grew and a great depression overwhelmed the world and there was a progressive deterioration everywhere except in the wide-flung Soviet territories of the U.S.S.R., where, in marked contrast with the rest of the world, astonishing progress was made in every direction. Two rival economic and political systems faced each other in the world and, though they tolerated each other for a while there was an inherent antagonism between them, and they played for mastery on the stage of the world. One of them was the capitalist order which had inevitably developed into vast imperialisms, which, having swallowed the colonial world, were intent on eating each other up. Powerful still and fearful of war which might endanger their prossessions, yet they came into inevitable conflict with each other and prepared feverishly for war. They were quite unable to solve the problems that threatened them and helplessly they submitted to slow decay. The other was the new socialist order of the U.S.S.R. which went from progress to progress, though often at terrible cost, and where the problems of the capitalist world had ceased to exist.

Capitalism, in its difficulties, took to Fascism with all its brutal suppression of what western civilization had apparently stood for; it became, even in some of its homelands, what its imperialist counterpart had long been in the subject colonial countries. **Fascism and imperialism thus stood out as the two**

faces of the now decaying capitalism, and though they varied in different countries according to national characteristics and economic and political conditions, they represented the same forces of reaction and supported each other, and at the same time they came into conflict with each other, for such conflict was inherent in their very nature. Socialism in the West and the rising nationalisms of the eastern and other dependent countries opposed this combination of Fascism and Imperialism. Nationalism in the East, it must be remembered, was essentially different from the new and terribly narrow nationalism of fascist countries ; the former was the historical urge to freedom, the latter the last refuge of reaction.

Thus we see the world divided up into two vast groups to-day—the Imperialist and Fascist on one side, the Socialist and nationalist on the other. There is some overlapping of the two and the line between them is difficult to draw, for there is mutual conflict between the Fascist and Imperialist Powers, and the nationalism of subject countries has sometimes a tendency to Fascism. But the main division holds and if we keep in mind, it will be easier for us to understand world conditions and our own place in them.

Where do we stand then, we who labour for a free India ? Inevitably we take our stand with progressive forces of the world which are ranged against Fascism and Imperialism. We have to deal with one Imperialism in particular, the oldest and the most far-reaching of modern world, but powerful as it is, it is but one aspect of world-imperialism. And that is the final argument for Indian independence and for the severance of our connection with the British Empire. **Between Indian nationalism, Indian freedom and British imperialism there can be no common ground, and if we remain within the imperialist fold, whatever our name or status, whatever outward semblance of political power we might have, we remain cribbed and confined and allied to and dominated by the reactionary forces and the great financial vested interests of the capitalist world.** The exploitation of our masses will still continue and the vital social problems that face us will remain unsolved. Even real political freedom will be out of our reach, much more so radical social changes.

Will the development of this great struggle all over the world we have seen the progressive deterioration of many of the capitalist-imperialist countries and an attempt at consolidation of the reactionary forces under Fascism or Nazism or so-called 'National' Governments. In India the same process has been evident to view during these past years, and stronger the nationalist movement has grown, the more efforts have been made by our imperialist rulers to break

our ranks and to gather under their banner the reactionary elements in the country. The Round Table Conferences were such attempts and, though they helped our rulers in some measure, they served a useful purpose by showing us clearly the division between the imperialist and the anti-imperialist forces in the country. Unhappily we did not fully profit by this lesson and we still imagine that we can win over some of these imperialist groups to the side of Indian freedom and anti-imperialism, and in a vain attempt to do so, we suppress our ideals, blush for our objectives and tone down our activities.

Meanwhile the decay of British Imperialism in India becomes ever more apparent. It cannot by its very nature, solve our economic problems and rid us of our terrible poverty, which it has largely itself created. It subsists on a normal fare of the fiercest repression and a denial of civil and even personal liberty. It surrounds us with a wide network of spies and, among the pillars of its administration, are the tribe of informers and agents provocateurs and the like. Its services try to seek comfort for their obvious deterioration and incompetence by perpetually singing songs of mutual adulation. Argument gives place to the policeman's baton and the soldier's bayonet and prison and detention camp, and even our extraordinary finances are justified by the methods of the bully. It is astonishing to find to what depths of vulgarity our rulers have descended in their ardent desire to hold on to what they have got, and it is depressing, though perhaps inevitable, that some of our own countrymen, more interested in British Imperialism than the British themselves, should excel at this deplorable game. So wanting in mental equilibrium are they, so obsessed by fear of the Congress and the national movement it represents, that their wishes become thoughts, their thoughts inferences and their inferences facts, solemnly stated in official publications, and on which the majesty of the British Government rests in India and people are kept in prison and detention camp without charge or trial. Being interested in psychology, I have watched this process of moral and intellectual decay and realized, even more than I did previously, how autocratic power corrupts and degrades and vulgarizes. I have read sometimes the reports of the recent Assembly meetings and noted the great difference in tone and content between them and the Assembly of ten years ago. I have observed the forced attempts made to discredit the Congress by a reference to the Tilak Swaraj Fund with which I was connected for many years as Secretary of the Congress. But prepared as I was for much, even them I was surprised at the insinuations made against our much-loved chief, Rajendra Babu, and the charges brought against the Behar Relief Fund. A mild criticism by me of official incompetence soon after the Behar earthquake was deeply resented probably because the truth of it was realised. Newspapers that criticized the official arrangements at a subsequent earthquake were heavily penalized or suppressed. All criticism hurts the sensitive skin of the Government and its reactions are quick and far-reaching. The more incompetent it grows the less

it likes being told so. But this does not prevent it from indulging in reckless allegations about others.

This psychological aspect interests me even more than the more aggressive manifestations of British authority in India, for it throws light on much that has happened. **It shows us how a clear and definite fascist mentality has developed among our rulers and how closely allied is Imperialism to Fascism. How this fascist mentality has functioned in the recent past and is functioning to-day, I shall not go into now. You know well the horror of these years and of the nightmare that we have all experienced. We shall not easily forget it and if there are some who have been cowed down by it, there are others who have steeled themselves to a greater resolve to end this infamy in India.**

But of one thing I must say a few words for to me it is one of the most vital things that I value. That is the tremendous deprivation of civil liberties in India. A government that has to rely on the Criminal Law Amendment Act and similar laws, suppresses the press and literature, that bans hundreds of organizations, that keeps people in prison without trial and that does so many other things that are happening in India to-day, is a government that has ceased to have even a shadow of a justification for its existence. I can never adjust myself to those conditions, I find them intolerable. And yet I find many of my own countrymen complacent about them, some even supporting them, some, who have made the practice of sitting on a fence into a fine art, being neutral when such questions are discussed. And I have wondered what there was in common between them and me and those who think like I do. **We, the members of the Congress, welcome all co-operation in the struggle for Indian freedom ; our doors are ever open to all who stand for that freedom and are against imperialism. But they are not open to the allies to imperialism and the supporters of repression and those who stand by the British Government in its suppression of civil liberty. We belong to opposite camps.**

Recently, as you know, we have had a typical example of the Government functions in India in the warning issued to a dear and valued comrade of ours, Subhas Chandra Bose. We who know him also know how frivolous are the charges brought against him. But even if there was substance in them we could not tolerate willingly the treatment to which he has long been subjected. He did me the honour to ask me for advice and I was puzzled and perplexed, for it is no easy thing to advice another in such a matter, when such advice might mean prison. Subhas Bose has suffered enough at the cost of his health. Was I justified in adding to this mental and physical agony ? I hesitated and at first suggested to him to postpone his

departure. But this advice made me unhappy and I consulted others friends and then advised him differently. I suggested that he should return to his homeland as soon as he could. But, it appears, that even before my advice reached him, he had started on his journey back to India.

This instance leads us to think of the larger problem, of the way the bogey of terrorism has been exploited by the Government to crush political activity and to cripple physically and mentally the fair province of Bengal. You know that terrorism as such is practically non-existent now in Bengal or any part of India. **Terrorism is always a sign of political immaturity in a people, just as so-called constitutionalism, where there is no democratic constitution, is a sign of political senility.** Our national movement has long outgrown that immature stage, and even the odd individuals who have in the past indulged in terrorist acts have apparently given up that tragic and futile philosophy. The Congress, by its stress on peaceful and effective action, has drawn the youth of the country into its fold and all traces of terroristic activity would long have vanished but for the policy of the Government which feeds the roots out of which a helpless violence grows. But terrorism or no terrorism, a government which adopts the methods which have long prevailed in Midnapore and elsewhere in Bengal stands self-condemned. Similar methods have also long prevailed in the Frontier Province, although there is no hint of terroristic activity there, and that fine man and true, beloved of millions, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, still lies in prison. Excuses differ, but the real reason is the ever-growing fascist mentality of our rulers.

That is one side of the picture. What of us? **I have found a spirit of disunion spreading over the land, a strange malaise, and petty conflicts amongst old comrades growing ever bigger and interfering with all activity. We have forgotten for the moment the larger ideals we stood for and we quarrel over petty issues. We have largely lost touch with the masses and, deprived of the life-giving energy that flows from them, we dry up and weaken and our organization shrinks and loses the power it had.** First things must always come first and because we have forgotten this and argue and dispute over secondary matters, we are in danger of losing our bearings.

Every great struggle has its ups and downs and temporary failures. When such a setback occurs there is a reaction and the fund of national energy is exhausted and has to be recharged. That happens again and again, and yet that is not an adequate explanation of all that has taken place. Our direct-action struggles in the past were based on the masses, and especially the peasantry, but the backbone and leadership were always supplied by the middle classes, and this

under the circumstances, was inevitable. The middle classes are a vague group or groups ; at the top a handful of them are closely allied to British imperialism ; at the bottom are dispossessed and other groups who have been progressively crushed by economic circumstances and out of whose ranks come the advanced political workers and revolutionaries ; in between are the centre groups, which tend often to side with the advanced elements, but which also have alliances with the upper groups and live in the hope of joining their superior ranks. **A middle class leadership is thus often a distracted leadership, looking in two directions at the same time. In times of crisis and struggle, when unity of aim and activity is essential, this two-faced leadership is bound to injure the cause and to hold back when a forward move is called for. Being too much tied up with property and the goods of this world, it is fearful of losing them, and it is easier to bring pressure on it and to exhaust its stamina.** And yet, paradoxically, it is only from the middle class intellectuals that revolutionary leadership comes, and we in India know that our bravest leaders and our stoutest comrades have come from the ranks of the middle classes. But by the very nature of our struggle, these front-rank leaders are taken away and the others who take their place tire and are influenced more by the static element of their class. That has been very evident during our recent struggle when our propertied classes were hit hard by the Government's drastic policy of seizure and confiscation of monies and properties, and were thus induced to bring pressure for the suspension of the struggle.

How is this problem to be solved then ? Inevitably we must have middle class leadership but this must look more and more towards the masses and draw strength and inspiration from them. The Congress must be not only for the masses, as it claims to be, but of the masses ; only then will it really be for the masses. I have a feeling that our relative weakness to-day is due to a certain decay of our middle class elements and our divorce from the people at large. Our policies and ideas are governed far more by the middle class outlook than by a consideration of the needs of the great majority of the population. Even the problems that trouble us are essentially middle class problems, like the communal problem, which have no significance for the masses.

This is partly due, I think, to a certain historical growth during the last fifteen years to which we have failed to adapt ourselves, to a growing urgency of economic problems affecting the masses, and to a rising mass consciousness which does not find sufficient outlet through the Congress. This was not so in 1920 and later when there was an organic link between Congress and the masses, and their needs and desires, vague as they were, found expression in the Congress. But as those needs and desires have taken more definite shape, they have not been so welcome to other elements in the Congress and that organic connec-

tion has gone. That, though regrettable, is really a sign of growth and, instead of lamenting it, we must find a new link and a new connection on a fresh basis which allows for growth of mass consciousness within the Congress. The middle class claim to represent the masses had some justification in 1920; it has much less to-day, though the lower middle classes have still a great deal in common with the masses.

Partly also our divorce from the people at large is due to a certain narrowness of our Congress constitution. The radical changes made in it fifteen years ago brought it in line with existing conditions then and it drew in large numbers and became an effective instrument of national activity. Though the control and background were essentially middle-class and city, it reached the remotest village and brought with it political and economic consciousness to the masses and there was widespread discussion of national issues in city and village alike. One could feel the new life pulsating through this vast land of ours and, as we were in harmony with it, we drew strength from it. The intense repression by the Government during later years broke many of our physical and outward bonds with our country-side. But something more than that happened. The vague appeal of earlier days no longer sufficed, and on the new economic issues that were forcing themselves on us, we hesitated to give a definite opinion. Worse even than the physical divorce, there was a mental divorce hetween the middle class elements and the mass elements. Our constitution no longer fitted in with changing conditions; it lost its roots in the soil and became a matter of small committees functioning in the air. It still had the mighty prestige of the Congress name behind it and this carried it a long way, but it had lost the living democratic touch. It became a prey to authoritarianism and a battleground for rival cliques fighting for control, and, in doing so, stooping to the lowest and most objectionable of tactics. Idealism disappeared and in its place there came opportunism and corruption. The constitutional structure of the Congress was unequal to facing the new situation; it could be shaken up anywhere almost by a handful of unscrupulous individuals. Only a broad democratic basis could have saved it and this was lacking.

Last year an attempt was made to revise the constitution in order to get rid of some of these evils. How far the attempt has succeeded or not, I am not competent to judge. Perhaps it had made the organization more efficient, but efficiency means little if it has no strength behind it, and strength, for us, can only come from the masses. The present constitution stresses still further the authoritarian side of the organization, and in spite of stressing rural representation does not provide effective links with the masses.

The real problem for us is, how in our struggle for independence we can join together all the anti-

imperialist forces in the country, how we can make a broad front of our mass elements with the great majority of the middle classes which stand for independence. There has been some talk of a joint front but, so far as I can gather, this refers to some alliance among the upper classes, probably at the expense of the masses. That surely can never be the idea of the Congress and if it favours it, it betrays the interests it has claimed to represent, and loses the very reason for its existence. The essence of a joint popular front must be uncompromising opposition to imperialism, and the strength of it must inevitably come from the active participation of the peasantry and workers.

Perhaps you have wondered at the way I have dealt at some length with the background of international affairs and not touched so far the immediate problems that fill your minds. You may have grown impatient. But I am convinced that the only right way of looking at our own problem is to see them in their proper place in a world setting. **I am convinced that there is intimate connection between world events, and our national problem is but a part of the world problem of capitalist-imperialism.** To look at each event apart from the others and without understanding the connection between them must lead us to the formation of erratic and erroneous views. Look at the vast panorama of world change to-day, where mighty forces are at grips with each other and dreadful war darkens the horizon—subject peoples struggling for freedom and imperialism crushing them down; exploited classes facing their exploiters and seeking freedom and equality. Italian imperialism bombing and killing the brave Ethiopians; Japanese imperialism continuing its aggression in North China and Mongolia; British imperialism piously objecting to other countries mis-behaving, yet carrying on in much the same way in India and the Frontier; and behind it all a decaying economic order which intensifies all these conflicts. Can we not see an organic connection in all these various phenomena? **Let us try to develop the historic sense so that we can view current events in proper perspective and understand their real significance. Only then can we appreciate the march of history and keep step with it.**

I realise that in this address I am going a little beyond the usual beat of the Congress President. But I do not want you to have me under any false pretences and we must have perfect frankness with each other. Most of you must know my views on social and economic matters, for I have often given expression to them. Yet you chose me as President. I do not take that choice to mean an endorsement by you all, or by a majority, of those views, but I take it that this does mean that those views are spreading in India and that most of you will be indulgent in considering them at least.

I am convinced that the only key to the solution of the world's problems and of India's problems lies in socialism, and when I use this word I do so not in a vague humanitarian way but in the scientific, economic sense. Socialism is, however, something even more than an economic doctrine; it is a philosophy of life and as such also it appeals to me. I see no way of ending the poverty, the vast unemployment, the degradation and the subjection of the Indian people except through socialism. That involves vast and revolutionary changes in our political and social structure, the ending of vested interests in land and industry, as well as the feudal and autocratic Indian States system. That means the ending of private property, except in a restricted sense, and the replacement of the present profit system by a higher ideal of co-operative service. It means ultimately a change in our instincts, habits and desires. In short, it means a new civilization, radically different from the present capitalist order. Some glimpse we can have of this new civilization in the territories of the U. S. S. R. Much has happened there which has pained me greatly and with which I disagree, but I look upon that great and fascinating unfolding of a new order and a new civilization as the most promising feature of our dismal age. **If the future is full of hope it is largely because of Soviet Russia and what it has done, and I am convinced that, if some world catastrophe does not intervene, this new civilization will spread to other lands and put an end to the wars and conflicts which capitalism feeds.**

I do not know how or when this new order will come to India. I imagine that every country will fashion it after its own way and fit it in with its national genius. But the essential basis of that order must remain and be a link in the world order that will emerge out of the present chaos.

Socialism is thus for me not merely an economic doctrine which I favour, it is a vital creed which I hold with all my head and heart. I work for Indian independence because the nationalist in me cannot tolerate alien domination; I work for it even more because for me it is the inevitable step to social and economic change. I should like the Congress to become a socialist organization and to join hands with the other forces that in the world are working for the new civilization. But I realize that the majority in the Congress, as it is constituted to-day, may not be prepared to go thus far. We are a nationalist organization and we think and work on the nationalist plan. It is evident enough now that this is too narrow even for the limited objective of political independence and so we talk of the masses and their economic needs. But still most of us hesitate, because of our nationalist background, to take a step which might frighten away some vested interests. Most of those interests are already ranged against us and we can expect little from them except opposition even in the political struggle.

Much as I wish for the advancement of socialism in this country, I have no desire to force the issue in the Congress and thereby create difficulties in the way of our struggle for independence. I shall co-operate gladly and with all the strength in me with all those who work for independence even though they do not agree with the socialist solution. But I shall do so stating my position frankly and hoping in course of time to convert the Congress and the country to it, for only thus can I see it achieving independence. It should surely be possible for all of us who believe in independence to join our ranks together even though we might differ on the social issue. The Congress has been in the past a broad front representing various opinions joined together by that common bond. It must continue as such even though the difference of those opinions becomes more marked.

How does socialism fit in with the present ideology of the Congress? I do not think it does. I believe in the rapid industrialization of the country and only thus I think will the standards of the people rise substantially and poverty be combatted. Yet I have co-operated whole-heartedly in the past with the *khadi* programme and I hope to do so in the future because I believe the *khadi* and village industries have a definite place in our present economy. They have a social, a political and an economic value which is difficult to measure but which is apparent enough to those who have studied their effects. But I look upon them more as temporary expedients of a transition stage rather than as solutions of our vital problems. That transition stage might be a long one, and in a country like India, village industries might well play an important, though subsidiary, role even after the development of industrialism. But though I co-operate in the village industries programme, my ideologic approach to it differs considerably from that of many others in the Congress who are opposed to industrialization and socialism.

The problem of untouchability and the Harijans again can be approached in different ways. For a socialist it presents no difficulty, for under socialism there can be no such differentiation or victimization. Economically speaking, the Harijans have constituted the landless proletariat and an economic solution removes the social barriers that custom and tradition have raised.

I come now to a question which is probably occupying your minds—the new Act passed by the British Parliament and our policy in regard to it. This Act has come into being since the last Congress met, but even at that time we had a foretaste of it in the shape of the White Paper, and I know of no abler analysis of those provisions than that contained in the presidential address of my predecessor in this high office. The Congress rejected that

proposed constitution and resolved to have nothing to do with it. The new Act, as is well known, is an even more retrograde measure and has been condemned by even the most moderate and cautious of our politicians. If we rejected the White Paper, what then are we to do with this new charter of slavery, to strengthen the bonds of imperialist domination and to intensify the exploitation of our masses? And even if we forget its content for a while, can we forget the insult and injury that have accompanied it, the contemptuous defiance of our wishes, the suppression of civil liberties and the widespread repression that has been our normal lot? If they had offered to us the crown of heaven with this accompaniment and with dishonour, would we not have spurned it as inconsistent with our national honour and self-respect? What then of this?

A charter of slavery is no law for the slave, and though we may perforce submit for a while to it and to the humiliation of ordinances and the like, inherent in that enforced submission is the right and the desire to rebel against it and to end it.

Our lawyers have examined this new constitution and have condemned it. But constitutions are something much more than legal documents. "The real constitution," said Ferdinand Lassalle, consists of "the actual relationships of power," and the working of this power we see even to-day, after the Act has been passed. That is the constitution we have to face, not the fine phrases which are sometimes presented to us, and we can only deal with it with the strength and power generated by the people of the country.

To this Act our attitude can only be one of uncompromising hostility and a constant endeavour to end it. How can we do this?

Since my return from Europe I have had the advantage of full and frank discussion with my colleagues of the Working Committee. All of us have agreed that the Act has to be rejected and combatted, but all of us have not been able to agree to the manner of doing so. We have pulled together in the past and I earnestly hope that we shall do so in the future, but in order to do so effectively we must recognise that there are marked differences in our outlooks. I do not yet know, as I write, what the final recommendation of the Working Committee will be on this issue. I can only, therefore, venture to put before you my own personal views on the subject, not knowing how far they represent the views of Congressmen. I should like to make it clear, however, in fairness to my old colleagues of the Working Committee, that the majority of them do not agree with all the views I am going to express. But whether we agree or disagree, or whether we agree to differ, there is a strong desire on our part to continue to co-operate

together, laying stress on our many points of agreement rather than on the differences. That is the right course for us and, as a democratic organization, that is the only course open to us.

I think that under the circumstances, we have no choice but to contest the elections to the new provincial legislatures, in the event of their taking place. We should seek election on the basis of a detailed political and economic programme, with our demand for a Constituent Assembly in the forefront. I am convinced that the only solution of our political and communal problems will come through such an Assembly, provided it is elected on an adult franchise and a mass basis. That Assembly will not come into existence till at least a semi-revolutionary situation has been created in this country, and actual relationships of power, apart from paper constitution, are such that the people of India can make their will felt. When that will happen I cannot say, but the world is too much in the grip of dynamic forces to-day to admit of static conditions in India or elsewhere for long. We may thus have to face this issue sooner than we might expect. But, obviously, a Constituent Assembly will not come through the new Act or the new legislatures. Yet we must press this demand and keep it before our country and the world, so that when the time comes we may be ripe for it.

A Constituent Assembly is the only proper and democratic method for the framing of our constitution, and for its delegates then to negotiate a treaty with the representatives of the British Government. But we cannot go to it with blank minds in the hope that something good will emerge out of it. Such an Assembly, in order to be fruitful, must have previous thought behind it and a definite scheme put forward by an organised group. The actual details, as to how the Assembly is to be convened, must depend on the circumstances then existing and need not trouble us now. But it will be our function as the Congress, to know exactly what we are after, to place this clearly and definitely before the Assembly, and to press for its acceptance.

One of the principal reasons for our seeking election will be to carry the message of the Congress to the millions of voters and to the scores of millions of the disfranchised, to acquaint them with our future programme and policy, to make the masses realize that we not only stand for them but that we are of them and seek to co-operate with them in removing their social and economic burdens. Our appeal and message will not be limited to the voters, for we must remember that hundreds of millions are disfranchised and they need our help most for, they are at the bottom of the social ladder and suffer most from exploitation. We have seen in the past widespread official interference in the elections; we shall have to face that, as well as the rich and monied ranks of the reactionaries. But the real danger will come from our toning down our programme and policy in

order to win over the hesitating and compromising groups and individuals. If we compromise on principles, we shall fall between two stools and deserve our fall. The only right way and the only safe way is to stand four-square on our own programme and to compromise with no one who has opposed the national struggle for freedom in the past, or who is in any way giving support to British Imperialism.

When we have survived the election, what then are we to do? Office or no office? A secondary matter perhaps, and yet behind that issue lie deep questions of principle and vital differences of outlook, and a decision on that, either way, has far-reaching consequences. Behind it lies, somewhat hidden, the question of independence itself and whether we seek revolutionary changes in India or are working for petty reforms under the aegis of British imperialism. **We go back again in thought to the clash of ideas which preceded the changes in the Congress in 1920. We made a choice then deliberately and with determination discarded the old sterile creed of reformism. Are we to go back again to that blind and suffocating lane after all these years of brave endeavour, and to wipe out the memory of what we have done and achieved and suffered?** That is the issue and let none of us forget it when we have to give our decision. In this India, crying aloud for radical and fundamental change, in this world pregnant with revolutionary and dynamic possibility, are we to forget our mission and our historic destiny, and slide back to static futility? And if some of us feel tired and hunger for rest and quiet, do we imagine that India's masses will follow our lead, when elemental forces and economic necessity are driving them to their inevitable goal? If we enter the back waters, others will take our place on the bosom of the flowing stream and will dare to take the rapids and ride the torrent.

How has this question arisen? If we express our hostility to the Act and reject the entire scheme, does it not follow logically that we should have nothing to do with the working of it and should prevent its functioning, in so far as we can? To accept office and ministry, under the conditions of the Act, is to negative our rejection of it and to stand self-condemned. National honour and self-respect cannot accept this position, for it would inevitably mean our co-operation in some measure with the repressive apparatus of imperialism, and we would become partners in this repression and in the exploitation of our people. Of course, we would try to champion the rights of the people and would protect against repression, but as ministers under the Act, we could do very little to give relief, and we would have to share responsibility for the administration with the apparatus of imperialism, for the deficit budgets, for the suppression of labour and the peasantry. **It is always dangerous to assume responsibility without power, even in democratic countries; it will be far worse with this un-**

democratic constitution, hedged in with safeguards and reserved powers and mortgaged funds, where we have to follow the rules and regulations of our opponents' making. Imperialism sometimes talks of co-operation but the kind of co-operation it wants is usually known as surrender, and the ministers who accept office will have to do so at the price of surrender of much that they might have stood for in public. That is a humiliating position which self-respect itself should prevent one from accepting. For our great national organization to be party to it is to give up the very basis and background of our existence.

Self-respect apart, common sense tells us that we can lose much and gain little by acceptance of office in terms of the Act. We cannot get much out of it, or else our criticism of the Act itself is wrong, and we know that it is not so. The big things for which we stand will fade into the background and petty issues will absorb our attention and we shall lose ourselves in compromises and communal tangles, and dissillusion with us will spread over the land. If we have a majority, and only then can the question of acceptance of office arise, we shall be in a position to dominate the situation and to prevent reactionaries and imperialists from profitting by it. Office will not add to our real strength, it will only weaken us by making us responsible for many things that we utterly dislike.

Again, if we are in a minority, the question of office does not arise. It may be, however, that we are on the verge of a majority and with the co-operation of other individuals and groups we can obtain office. There is nothing inherently wrong in our acting together with others on specific issues of civil liberty or economic or other demands, provided we do not compromise on any principle. But I can imagine few things more dangerous and more likely to injure us than the acceptance of office on the sufferance of others. That would be an intolerable position.

It is said that our chances at the elections would increase if we announced that we were prepared to accept offices and ministries. Perhaps that might be so, for all manner of other people, eager for the spoils and patronage that office gives, would then hurry to join us. Does any Congressman imagine that this would be desirable development or that we would gain strength thereby? Again it is said that more voters would vote for us it they knew that we were going to form ministries. That might happen if we deluded them with false promises of what we might do for them within the Act; but a quick nemesis would follow our failure to give effect to those promises, and failure would be inevitable if the promises were worth while.

There is only one straight course open to us, to go to the people with our programme and make it clear to them that we cannot give effect to the major items in it under present conditions, and, therefore, while we use the platform of the legislatures to press that programme, we seek to end these imperialist bodies by creating deadlocks in them when we are in a position to do. Those deadlocks should preferably take place on those programmes so that the masses might learn how ineffective for their purposes are these legislatures.

One fact is sometimes forgotten—the provision for second chambers in many of the provinces. These chambers will be reactionary and will be exploited by the Governor to check any forward tendencies in the lower house. They will make the position of a minister, who seeks advance, even more difficult and unenviable.

Some people have suggested, though their voices are hushed now, that provincial autonomy might be given on this office issue and each Provincial Congress Committee should be empowered to decide it for its own province. An astonishing and fatal suggestion playing into the hands of our imperialist rulers. **We who have laboured for Indian unity can never be parties to any proposal which tends to lessen that unity. That way lies disaster and a disruption of the forces working for freedom.** If we agree to this, why the nshould we also not agree to the communal issue being decided provincially, or many other issues, where individual provinces might think differently ? First issues will sink into the background, independence itself will fade away, and the narrowest provincialism raise its ugly head. Our policy must be uniform for the whole of India, and it must place first thingsfirst, and independence is the first thing of all.

Therefore I am convinced that for the Congress to favour the acceptance of office, or even to hesitate and waver about it, would be a vital error. It will be a pit from which it would be difficult for us to come out. Practical statesmanship is against it, as well as the traditions of the Congress and the mentality we have sought to develop in the people. Psychologically, any such lead might have disastrous consequences. If we stand for revolutionary changes, as we do, we have to cultivate a revolutionary mentality among our people, and anything that goes against it is harmful to our cause.

This psychological aspect is important. We must never forget, and never delude our masses into imagining, that we can get ans. real power or real freedom through working these legislaturey We may use them certainly to advance our cause to some extent but the burden of the struggle for freedom must fall on the masses, and primarily, therefore, our effective work must lie outside these

legislatures. Strength will come from the masses and from our work among them and our organization of them.

Of secondary importance though the work in the legislature is, we may not treat it casually and allow it to become a hindrance to our other work. Therefore, it is necessary for the Congress, through its executive, to have direct control over the elections and the programme placed before the country, as well as the activity in the legislatures. Such control will inevitably be exercised through committees and boards appointed for the purpose, but the continued existence of semi-autonomous parliamentary boards seems to be undesirable. Provision should also be made for a periodical review of all such activities so that Congressmen in general and the country should keep in touch with them and should influence them.

We have considered the provincial elections which, it is said, may take place early next year. The time is far off yet and it is by no means impossible that these elections may not take place for a much longer time, or may not take place at all, and the new Act may take its rightful place in oblivion. Much may happen in the course of the next year, and war is ever on the horizon, to upset the schemes and time-tables of our rulers. But we cannot speculate on this and we have to make provision for contingencies. That decision might even have been delayed, but dangerous and compromising tendencies seek to influence Congress policy, and the Congress cannot remain silent when the issue is raised and its whole future is in the balance.

The provincial legislatures may come, but few persons, I imagine, are confident about the coming of the federal part of this unholy structure. So far as we are concerned we shall fight against it to our utmost strength, and the primary object of our creating deadlock in the provinces and making new Act difficult of functioning, is to kill the Federation. **With the Federation dead, the provincial end of the Act will also go and leave the slate clean for the people of India to write on. That writing, whatever it be, can never admit the right of Indian States to continue as feudal and autocratic monarchies.** They have long survived their day, propped up by an alien power, and have become the strangest anomalies in a changing world. The future has no place for autocracy or feudalism ; a free India cannot tolerate the subjection of many of our children and their deprivation of human rights, nor can it ever agree to a dissection of its body and a cutting up of its limbs. If we stand for any human, political, social or economic right for ourselves, we stand for those identical rights for the people of the States.

I have referred to the terrible suppression of civil liberties by the British Government in India. But in the States matters are even worse, and though we know that the real power

behind those States is that of British imperialism, this tragic suppression of our brothers by their own countrymen is of painful significance. Indian rulers and their ministers have acted increasingly in the approved fascist manner, and their record during the past few years especially has been one of aggressive opposition to our national demands. States, which are considered advanced, ban the Congress organization and offer insult to our national flag, and decree new laws to suppress the Press. What shall we say of the more backward and primitive States ?

There is one more matter concerning the Constitution Act which has given rise to much controversy. This is the communal decision. Many people have condemned it strongly and, I think rightly, few have a good word for it. My own view-point is, however, somewhat different from that of others. I am not concerned so much with what it gives to this group or that, but more so with the basic idea behind it. It seeks to divide India into numerous separate compartments, chiefly on a religious basis, and thus makes the development of democracy and economic policy very difficult. Indeed the communal decision and democracy can never go together. We have to admit that, under present circumstances, and so long as our politics are dominated by middle class elements, we cannot do away with communalism altogether. But to make a necessary exception in favour of our Muslim or Sikh friends is one thing, to spread this evil principle to numerous other groups and thus to divide up the electoral machinery and the legislature into many compartments, is a far more dangerous proposition. If we wish to function democratically the proposed communal arrangement will have to go, and I have no doubt that it will go. But it will not go by the methods adopted by the aggressive opponents of the decision. These methods result inevitably in perpetuating the decision, for they help in continuing a situation which prevents any reconsideration.

I have not been enamoured of the past Congress policy in regard to the communal question and its attempts to make pacts and compromises. Yet essentially I think it was based on a sound instinct. First of all the Congress always put independence first and other questions, including the communal one, second, and refused to allow any of those other questions to take pride of place. Secondly, it argued that the communal problem had arisen from a certain set of circumstances which enabled the third party to exploit the other two. In order to solve it, one had either to get rid of the third party (and that meant independence), or get rid of that set of circumstances, which meant a friendly appoach by the parties concerned and an attempt to soften the prejudice and fear that filled them. Thirdly, that the majority community must show generosity in the matter to allay the fear and suspicion that minorities, even though unreasonably, might have.

That analysis is, I think, perfectly sound. **I would add that, in my opinion, a real solution of the problem**

will only come when economic issues, affecting all religious groups and cutting across communal boundaries, arise. Apart from the upper middle classes who live in hopes of office and patronage, the masses and the lower middle classes have to face identical and economic problems. It is odd and significant that all the communal demands of any group, of which so much is heard, have nothing whatever to do with these problems of the masses and the lower middle classes.

It is significant that the principal communal leaders, Hindu or Muslim or others, are political reactionaries, quite apart from the communal question. It is sad to think how they have sided with British imperialism in vital matters, how they have given their approval to the suppression of civil liberty, how during these years of agony they sought to gain narrow profit for their group at the expense of the larger cause of freedom. With them there can be no co-operation, for that would mean co-operation with reaction. But I am sure that with the larger masses and the middle classes, who may have temporarily been led away by the spacious claims of their communal leaders, there must be the fullest co-operation, and out of that co-operation will come a fairer solution of this problem.

I am afraid I cannot get excited over this communal issue, important as it is temporarily. It is after all a side issue and it can have no real importance in the larger scheme of things. Those who think of it as the major issue, think in terms of British imperialism continuing permanently in this country. Without that basis of thought, they would not attach so much importance to one of its inevitable off-shoots. I have no such fear and so my vision of a future India contains neither imperialism nor communalism.

Yet the present difficulty remains and has to be faced. Especially our sympathy must go to the people of Bengal who have suffered most from these communal decisions, as well as from the heavy hand of the Government. Whenever opportunity offers to improve their situation in a friendly way, we must seize it. But always the background of our action must be the national struggle for independence and the social freedom of the masses.

I have referred previously to the growing divorce between our organization and the masses. Individually many of us still have influence with the masses and our word carries weight with them, and who can measure the love and reverence of India's millions for our leader, Gandhiji? And yet organizationally we have lost that intimate touch that we had. The social reform activities of the *khadi* and village industries and *Harijan* organizations keep large numbers of our comrades in touch with the masses and those contacts bear fruit. But they are essentially non-political and so, politically, we have largely lost touch. There are many reasons for this and some are beyond our control. Our present Congress Constitution

is, I feel, not helpful in developing these contacts or in encouraging enough the democratic spirit in its primary committees. These committees are practically rolls of voters who meet only to elect delegates or representatives, and take no part in discussion or the formation of policy.

It is interesting to read in that monumental and impressive record, Webb's new book on Russia, how the whole Soviet structure is based on a wide and living democratic foundation. **Russia is not supposed to be a democratic country after the western pattern, and yet we find the essentials of democracy present in far greater degree amongst them than anywhere else.** The six hundred thousand towns and villages there have a vast democratic organization, each with its own Soviet, constantly discussing, debating, criticizing, helping in the formulation of policy, electing representatives to higher committees. This organization of citizens covers the entire population over 18 years of age. There is yet another vast organization of the people as producers, and a third, equally vast, as consumers. And thus scores of millions of men and women are constantly taking part in the discussion of public affairs and actually in the administration of the country. There has been no such practical application of the democratic process in history.

All this is of course utterly beyond us, for it requires a change in the political and economic structure and much else before we can experiment that way. But we can profit by that example still and try in our limited way to develop democracy in the lowest rungs of the Congress ladder and make the primary committee a living organization.

An additional method for us to increase our contacts with the masses is to organise them as producers and then affiliate such organizations to the Congress or have full co-operation between the two. Such organizations of producers as exist to-day, such as trade unions and peasant unions, as well as other anti-imperialist organizations could also be brought within this sphere of mutual co-operation for the good of the masses as for the struggle for national freedom. Thus Congress could have an individual as well as a corporate membership, and retaining its individual character, could influence, and be influenced by, other mass elements.

These are big changes that I have hinted at, and I am by no means sure how they can be brought about, or whether it is possible to go far in this direction in the near future. Still we must move to some extent at least if we are to have our roots in the soil of India and draw life and strength from its millions. The subject is fascinating but complicated and can only be tackled by an expert committee which, I trust, will be appointed on behalf of the Congress. The report of that committee must be freely discussed so as to get the widest backing for it.

All this will take us to the next Congress. Meanwhile perhaps some urgent changes are needed in our constitution to remove anomalies and avoid difficulties. Owing to my absence I have had little experience of the working of the new constitution and cannot make any concrete suggestions. The reduction in the numbers of delegates and A. I. C. C. members would be, to some extent, desirable if there was a background of widespread activity in the primary and secondary committees. Without it, it makes us even less responsive to mass opinion, and, therefore, an increase seems desirable. But the real solution is to increase the interest and day-to-day activity of the lower committees.

I have been told that the manual labour franchise has not been a success and has led to a great deal of evasion. If that is so, a change is desirable for a constitution must be such as can be worked easily and without subterfuge.

The Congress is an all-inclusive body and represents many interests, but essentially it is a political organization with various subsidiary and allied organizations, like the Spinners' Association and the Village Industries Association. These allied organizations work in the economic field, but they do not seek directly to remove the burdens of the peasantry under the present system of land tenure. Nor can the Congress, situated as it is, wholly function as a peasant organization, although in many provinces it has espoused the cause of the peasantry and brought them much relief. **It seems to me necessary that the Congress should encourage the formation of the peasant unions as well as workers' unions, and co-operate with such as already exist, so that the day-to-day struggle of the masses might be carried on, on the basis of their economic demands and other grievances.** This identification of the Congress with the economic struggle of the masses will bring us nearer to them and nearer to freedom than anything else. I would welcome also the organization of other special interests, like those of the women, in the general framework of our national struggle for freedom. The Congress would be in a position to co-ordinate all these vital activities and thus to base itself on the widest possible mass foundation.

There has been some talk of a militant programme and militant action. I do not know what exactly is meant, but if direct action on a national scale or civil disobedience are meant, then I would say that I see no near prospect of them. Let us not indulge in tall talk before we are ready for big action. Our business to-day is to put our house in order, to sweep away the defeatist mentality of some people and to build up our organization with its mass affiliations, as well as to work amongst the masses. The time may come, and that sooner

perhaps than we expect, when we might be put to the test. Let us get ready for that test. Civil disobedience and the like cannot be switched on and off when we feel like doing so. It depends on many things, some of which are beyond our control, but in these days of revolutionary change and constantly recurring crises in the world, events often move faster than we do. We shall not look for opportunities.

The major problem of India to-day is that of the land—of rural poverty and unemployment and a thoroughly out-of-date land system. A curious combination of circumstances had held back India during the past few generations and the political and economic garments it wears no longer fit it and are torn and tattered. In some ways our agrarian conditions are not unlike those of France a hundred and fifty years ago prior to the greater revolution. They cannot continue so for long. At the same time we have become parts of international capitalism and we suffer the pains and crises which afflict this decaying system. As a result of these elemental urges and conflicts of world forces what will emerge in India none can say. But we can say with confidence that the present order has reached the evening of its day, and it is up to us to try to mould the future as we would like it to be.

The world is filled with rumours and alarms of war. In Abyssinia bloody and cruel war has already gone on for many months and we have watched anew how hungry and predatory imperialism behaves in its mad search for colonial domains. We have watched also with admiration the brave fight of the Ethiopians for their freedom against heavy odds. You will permit me, I feel sure, to greet them on your behalf and express our deep sympathy for them. Their struggle is something more than a local struggle. It is one of the first defective checks by an African people on an advancing imperialism and already it has had far-reaching consequences.

In the Far East also war hovers on the horizon and we see an eastern imperialism advancing methodically and pitilessly over ancient China and dreaming of world empire. Imperialism shows its claws wherever it may be, in the West or in the East.

In Europe an aggressive Fascism or Nazism steps continuously on the brink of war and vast armed camps arise in preparation for what seems to be the inevitable end of all this. Nations join hands to fight other nations, and progressive forces in each country ally themselves to fight the Fascist menace.

Where do we come in in this awful game? What part shall we play in this approaching tragedy? It is difficult to say. But we must not permit ourselves to be passive tools exploited for imperialist ends. It must be our right to say whether we join a war or not, and without that consent there should be no co-opera-

tion from us. When the time comes we may have little say in the matter, and so it becomes necessary for the Congress to declare clearly now its opposition to India's participation in any imperialist war, and every war that will be waged by Imperialist Powers will be an imperialist war, whatever the excuse put forward might be. Therefore, we must keep out of it and not allow Indian lives and Indian money to be sacrificed.

To the progressive forces of the world, to those who stand for human freedom and the breaking of political and social bonds, we offer our full co-operation in their struggle against the imperialism and fascist reaction, for we realize that our struggle is a common one. Our grievance is not against any people or any country as such, and we know that even in imperialist England, which throttles us, there are many who do not love imperialism and who stand for freedom.

During this period of difficulty and storm and stress, inevitably our minds and hearts turn to our great leader, who has guided us and inspired us by his dynamic personality these many years. Physical ill-health prevents him now from taking his full share in public activities. Our good wishes go out to him for his rapid and complete recovery, and with those wishes is the selfish desire to have him back again amongst us. We have differed from him in the past, and we shall differ from him in the future about many things, and it is right that each one of us should act up to his convictions. But the bonds that hold us together are stronger and more vital than our differences, and the pledges we took together still ring in our ears. How many of us have not that passionate desire for Indian independence and the rising of our poverty-stricken masses which consumes him? Many things he taught us—long years ago it seems now such as fearlessness and discipline and the will to sacrifice ourselves for the large cause. That lesson may have grown dim but we have not forgotten it, nor can we ever forget him who had made us what we are and raised India again from the depths. The pledge of independence that we took together still remains to be redeemed, and we await again for him to guide us with his wise counsel.

But no leader, however great he be, can shoulder the burden single-handed; we must all share it to the best of our ability and not seek helplessly to rely on others to perform miracles. Leaders come and go; many of our best-loved captains and comrades have left us all too soon, but India goes on and so does India's struggle for freedom. It may be that many of us must suffer still and die so that India may live and be free. The promised land may yet be far from us and we may have to mark wearily through the deserts, but who will take away from us that deathless hope which has sur-

vived the scaffold and immeasurable suffering and sorrow; who will dare to crush the spirit of India which has found re-birth again and again after so many crucifixions?

II

What The Congress Stands For?

(Adopted by the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay on August 22, 1936.)

For more than fifty years the Indian National Congress has laboured for the freedom of India, and ever, as its strength grew and it came to represent more and more the national urge of the Indian people and their desire to put an end to exploitation by British Imperialism, it came into conflict with the ruling power. During recent years the Congress had led great movements for national freedom and has sought to develop sanctions whereby such freedom can be achieved by peaceful mass action and the disciplined sacrifice and suffering of the Indian people. To the lead of the Congress the Indian people have responded in abundant measure and thus confirmed their inherent right to freedom. That struggle for freedom still continues and must continue till India is free and independent.

These years have seen the development of an economic crisis in India and the world which has led to a progressive deterioration in the condition of all classes of our people. The poverty-stricken masses are to-day in the grip of an even more abject poverty and destitution, and this growing disease urgently and insistently demands a radical remedy. Poverty and unemployment have long been the lot of our peasantry and industrial workers; to-day they cover and crush other classes also—the artisan, the trader, the small merchant, the middle-class intelligentsia. For the vast millions of our countrymen the problem of achieving national independence has become an urgent one, for only independence can give us the power to solve our economic and social poblems and end the exploitation of our masses.

The growth of the national movement and the economic struggle has resulted in the intense repression of the Indian people and the suppression of civil liberties, and the British Government has sought to strengthen the imperialist bonds that envelop India and to perpetuate the domination and exploitation of the Indian people by enacting the Government of India Act of 1935.

In the international sphere crisis follows crisis in an ever deepening degree and world war looms over the horizon. The Lucknow Congress called the attention of the nation to this grave situation

in India and the world, and declared its opposition to the participation of India in an imperialist war and its firm resolve to continue the struggle for the independence of India.

The Congress rejected in its entirety the constitution imposed upon India by the new Act and declared that no constitution imposed by outside authority and no constitution which curtails the sovereignty of the people of India, and does not recognise their right to shape and control fully their political and economic future, can be accepted. Such a constitution, in its opinion, must be based on the independence of India as a nation and it can only be framed by a Constituent Assembly.

The Congress has always laid stress on the development of the strength of the people and the forging of sanctions to enforce the people's will. To this end, it has carried on activities outside the legislatures. The Congress holds that real strength comes from thus organising and serving the masses.

Adhering to this policy and objective, but in view of the present situation and in order to prevent the operation of forces calculated to strengthen alien domination and exploitation, the Congress decided to contest seats in the coming elections for the provincial legislatures. But the purpose of sending Congressmen to the legislatures under the new Act is not to co-operate in any way with the Act but to combat it and seek to end it. It is to carry out, in so far as is possible, the Congress policy of rejection of the Act, and to resist British Imperialism in its attempts to strengthen its hold on India and its exploitation of the Indian people. In the opinion of the Congress, activity in the legislatures should be such as to help in the work outside, in the strengthening of the people, and in the development of the sanctions which are essential to freedom.

The new legislatures, hedged and circumscribed by safeguards and special powers for the protection of British and other vested interests, cannot yield substantial benefits, and they are totally incapable of solving the vital problems of poverty and unemployment. But they may well be used by British imperialism for its own purpose to the disadvantage and injury of the Indian people. The Congress representatives will seek to resist this, and to take all possible steps to end the various regulations, Ordinances and Acts which oppress the Indian people and smother their will to freedom. They will work for the establishment of civil liberty, for the release of political prisoners and detenus, and to repair the wrongs done to the peasantry and to public institutions in the course of the national struggle.

The Congress realises that independence can not be achieved through these legislatures, nor can the problems of poverty and unemployment be effectively tackled by them. Nevertheless the Congress places its general programme before the people of India so that they may know what it stands for and what it will try to achieve, whenever it has the power to do so.

At the Karachi session of the Congress in 1931 the general Congress objective was defined in the Fundamental Rights Resolution. That general definition still holds. The last five years of developing crisis have however necessitated a further consideration of the problems of poverty and unemployment and other economic problems. With a view to this the Lucknow Congress laid particular stress on the fact that " the most important and urgent problem of the country is the appalling poverty, unemployment and indebtedness of the peasantry, fundamentally due to antiquated and repressive land tenure and revenue system, and intensified in recent years by the great slump in prices of agricultural produce," and called upon the Provincial Congress Committees to frame full agrarian programmes. The agrarian programme which will be drawn up by the A. I. C. C. on the basis of these provincial programmes will be issued later.

Pending the formulation of a fuller programme the Congress reiterates its declaration made at Karachi—that it stands for a reform of the system of land tenure and revenue and rent, and an equitable adjustment of the burden on agricultural land, giving immediate relief to the smaller peasantry by a substantial reduction of agricultural rent and revenue now paid by them and exempting uneconomic holdings from payment of rent and revenue.

The question of indebtedness requires urgent consideration and the formulation of a scheme including the declaration of a moratorium, an enquiry into and scaling down of debts and the provision for cheap credit facilities by the State. This relief should extend to the agricultural tenants, peasant proprietors, small landholders, and petty traders.

In regard to industrial workers the policy of the Congress is to secure to them a decent standard of living, hours of work and conditions of labour in conformity, as far as the economic conditions in the country permit, with international standards, suitable machinery for the settlement of disputes between employers and workmen, protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment, and the right of workers to form unions and to strike for the protection of their interests.

The Congress has already declared that it stands for the removal of all sex disabilities whether legal or social or in any sphere of public activity. It has expressed itself in favour of maternity benefits and the protection of women workers. The women of India have already taken a leading part in the freedom struggle, and the Congress looks forward to their sharing, in an equal measure with the men of India.

The stress that the Congress has laid on the removal of untouchability and for the social and economic uplift of the Harijans and the backward classes is well-known. It holds that they should be equal citizens with others with equal rights in all civic matters.

The encouragement of khadi and village industries has also long been a principal plank of the Congress programme. In regard to the larger industries, protection should be given but the rights of the workers and the producers of raw materials should be safeguarded, and due regard should be paid to the interests of village industries.

The treatment of political prisoners has long been a scandal in India. Every effort should be made to improve this and make it humane. It is equally necessary to change the whole basis of the prison administration so that every prisoner might be treated in a humanitarian and rational manner.

The communal decision, which forms part of the new Act, has led to much controversy and the Congress attitude towards it has been misunderstood by some people. The rejection in its entirety of the new Act by the Congress inevitably involves the rejection of the communal decision. Even apart from the Act as a whole, the communal decision is wholly unacceptable as being inconsistent with independence and the principles of democracy ; it encourages fissiparous and disruptive tendencies, hinders the normal growth and consideration of economic and social questions, is a barrier to national progress, and strikes at the root of Indian unity. No community or group in India profits by it in any real sense, for the larger injury caused by it to all outweighs the petty benefits that some have received. Ultimately it probably injures most those groups whom it is meant to favour. The only party that profits by it is the third party which rules and exploits us.

The attitude of the Congress is, therefore, not one of indifference or neutrality. It disapproves strongly of the communal decision and would like to end it. But the Congress has repeatedly laid stress on the fact that a satisfactory solution of the communal question can come only through the goodwill and co-operation of the principal commu-

nities concerned. An attempt by one group to get some communal favour from the British Government at the expense of another group results in an increase of communal tension and the exploitation of both groups by the Government. Such a policy is hardly in keeping with the dignity of Indian nationalism; it does not fit in with the struggle for independence. It does not pay either party in the long run; it sidetracks the main issue.

The Congress, therefore, holds that the right way to deal with the situation created by the communal decision is to intensify our struggle for independence and, at the same time, to seek a common basis for an agreed solution which helps to strengthen the unity of India. The effort of one community only to change the decision in the face of the opposition of another community might well result in confirming and consolidating that decision, for conflict between the two produces the very situation which gives governments a chance of enforcing such a decision. The Congress thus is of opinion that such one-sided agitation can bear no useful result.

It is necessary to bear in mind that the whole communal problem in spite of its importance, has nothing to do with the major problems of India—poverty and widespread unemployment. It is not a religious problem and it affects only a handful of people at the top. The peasantry, the workers, the traders and merchants and the lower middle class of all communities are in no way touched by it and their burdens remain.

The question of accepting ministries or not in the new legislatures was postponed for decision by the Lucknow Congress. The A. I. C. C. is of opinion that it will be desirable for this decision to be taken after the elections. Whatever the decision on this question might be, it must be remembered that, in any event, the Congress stands for the rejection of the new Act, and for non-co-operation in its working. The object remains the same : the ending of the Act. With a view to this end every endeavour will be made to prevent the introduction and functioning of the federal part of the scheme, which is intended to perpetuate the domination of imperialist interests and the feudal interests of the States over the whole country and prevents all progress towards freedom. It must be borne in mind that the new provincial assemblies will form the electorate for the proposed federal central legislature and the composition of those provincial legislatures will materially affect the fate of the federal constitution.

We appeal to the country to give every support to the Congress in the elections that are coming. National welfare demands it. The fight for independence calls for it. The effectiveness of the

work that the Congress members of the legislatures will do will depend on their members and their discipline and the backing and support that the country gives them. With a clear majority they will be in a position to fight the Act and to help effectively in the struggle for independence. Every party and group that stands aloof from the Congress organisation tends, knowingly or unknowingly, to become a source of weakness to the nation and a source of strength to the forces ranged against it. For the fight for independence a joint front is necessary. The Congress offers that joint national front which comprises all classes and communities, bound together by their desire to free India, end the exploitation of her people, and build up a strong and prosperous and united nation, resting on the well-being of the masses.

With this great and inspiring goal before us, for which so many men and women of India have suffered and sacrificed their all under the banner of the Congress, and for which to-day thousands of our countrymen are suffering silently and with brave endurance, we call upon our people with full hope and confidence, to rally to the cause of the Congress, of India, of freedom.

III

What Nehru Stands For ?

[*Independence is not enough, says Nehru. We must have economic security for the peasantry. For them freedom means food, and liberty has no meaning without loaves. This is the substance of the presidential address of Jawaharlal delivered at the U. P. Conference held at Jhansi on October 27, 1928. The speech is surcharged with deep patriotic motives, because the city of Jhansi reminded Pandit Nehru of the Rani of Jhansi who fell fighting in the Indian Revolution of 1857, that " chip of a girl " who knew no fear and went out to struggle against overwhelming odds for " the glory of India and her womanhood !*]"

For a second time you have done me the honour of making me President of this Provincial Conference. Grateful as I am, I fully realise that I am here to-day in place of another whom you had wisely chosen and than whom you could have had no better to guide your deliberations here and your activities in the coming year. But to our misfortune, domestic troubles have prevented your chosen President from taking its rightful place in the chair here to-day and the burden of his work has fallen on me. That burden I shall endeavour to discharge here at this conference but you will surely join with me in the hope that in the course of the year our valiant and great-hearted comrade will take his rightful place at the head of the Congress organisation in this province.

Five years ago you chose me President and I ventured to say to you then that the only possible ideal we could work for was the ideal of Complete Independence. Our Conference adopted this ideal and recommended to the National Congress likewise. It is well to remember this in these days of argument and debate about Independence and Dominion Status. **The cry of independence is no new cry in India. From the day that our country fell under an alien rule, there have always been people who have dreamed of independence, struggled and worked for it and sacrificed their all for it. What was the great struggle of 1857 but a war of independence consecrated by many gallant deeds and heroic sacrifices and also darkened by misdeeds which brought failure in their train. Here in this city of Jhansi the mind dwells lovingly on that chip of a girl who knowing no fear, went out to struggle and die against overwhelming odds for the glory of India and her womanhood.**

As generation has succeeded generation, there has been no lack of men and women who have refused to bow their heads and bend their knees before the alien ruler. For that disobedience they paid a very heavy price, but the gallant stream went on and increased in volume. Memories are short and we are apt to forget the deeds of the past. But even the present generation in which we live has been full enough of golden and inspiring deeds. Were the youngmen and old, who faced death and long imprisonment, thinking of the mirage of Dominion Status or of full-blooded freedom ?

No living nation under alien rule can ever be at peace with its conqueror. For peace means submission and submission means the death of all that is vital in the nation. And India has shown her vitality by the endless sacrifices her sons and daughters have made to free her from alien rule. India cannot be at peace with England till she has attained her freedom. That is the psychological, the fundamental reason for our desiring and working for independence. This freedom cannot come by our becoming partners, even if that were possible, of that imperialist concern which is called the British Empire, and we have realised, or ought to realise that imperialism and freedom are poles apart. The day England sheds her imperialism, we shall gladly co-operate with her. But do you see any signs of it ? Or are you simple enough to imagine that we can reform her from within by first entering her Empire or Commonwealth ? England to-day is the arch-priest of imperialism and perhaps the worst offenders are those of her Labour Party who have the remarkable capacity for combining tall talk about freedom and self-determination with full-blooded imperialism.

It is not England that is our enemy. It is imperialism and where imperialism is, there we cannot willingly remain.

But you do not require arguments from me in favour of independence. You have been the leaders in this movement inside the Congress organisation and you may well take pride in the fact that the lead you gave has been followed by the Congress itself.

We have so far laid stress on political independence. It is now time for you to take the lead again and declare what you mean by independence. We are told by some people that the Congress must not concern itself with matters other than political. But life cannot be divided up into compartments, nor indeed can politics itself ignore the other functions of society. The problem before us is to build a free society and to do that you must consider and seek to change social and economic conditions. What manner of independence is it which results in starvation for many and the exploitation of millions? Independence must necessarily involve freedom from all exploitation and to bring this about you must attack everything in your society which helps the exploiter. That is also a powerful reason why we cannot be satisfied with Dominion Status, for that is bound to result in giving a dominant position to foreign capital and foreign capital means foreign exploitation.

The problem before us is, therefore, two-fold, firstly to chalk out an economic and social programme which will provide freedom for the masses and then to indicate the manner of creating sanctions to enforce our programme.

But before we consider the programme let us be clear about our aims and our general outlook. Most of us talk about serving the masses and relieving their poverty, although we seldom have any but the vaguest of notions as to how to do it. We imagine that with the coming of *Swaraj*, the masses are bound to benefit. This is partly true no doubt, but it is by no means certain that they will do so. Our very method of referring to the masses betrays that we think ourselves something apart from them. By virtue of our intellects or our material possessions we consider ourselves the natural leaders of the masses. It is " we" and the " masses " and if any conflict arises between the two we naturally attach more importance to our own interests. We are convinced that we are the chosen of the land and on our worthy shoulders has fallen the burden of freeing this country and incidentally of bettering our own position.

This is the way we think consciously or unconsciously. It is the way of hypocrisy. Let us not talk of serving the masses when our principal object is to serve our own class. Therefore in drawing up programmes we must keep the interests of the masses uppermost

and sacrifice everything else to them. For it is the masses who really are the nation. On their prosperity depends the prosperity of the country. Not only it is just that our programme must keep the interests of the masses uppermost, but it is highly necessary and expedient from other points of view also. Only thus can we raise the sanction which can enforce their will. But to give effect to that programme we shall have to subordinate ourselves and give the predominant place in our movement to the representatives of the masses. Thus only can we make it a real mass movement. Only those who are themselves interested in an economic change can effectively bring it about. The leadership and effective control of the movement must therefore ultimately pass to those who are most exploited to-day. They will stumble and fall and make many mistakes but they will have the driving force of economic necessity behind them and this is bound to carry them to victory. Bereft of this driving force, our politics are bound to become as they have, indeed, become a jumble of resolutions and processions and shouting with no action behind them. *Swaraj* will not be obtained by scoring lawyer's points or by forensic eloquence.

I have repeatedly stated that to my thinking the only solution for many ills is socialism, Socialism therefore must be our aim. Some of you may perhaps think, not without reason, that we cannot reach it at one bound and it is necessary to have a lesser immediate programme. It is not easy to draw up this programme at a conference and I would earnestly recommend that this conference should appoint a committee to do it. I shall merely indicate here some important matters which should be considered for inclusion in the conference.

Our social programme must lay down clearly that we cannot tolerate the many disabilities which various classes, called the depressed classes, suffer from. We must do away with these distinctions and try to give full opportunities of growth to every one. Special provision must be made for freeing our women-folk from the many burdens and disabilities they suffer from, both legally and otherwise. They should have the same status as men, such relics of barbarism as *pardah* must of course go entirely.

Our economic programme must aim at the removal of all economic inequalities and an equitable distribution of wealth. For the moment we may take the provision of a living wage for a worker and protection from the economic consequences of old age, maternity, etc., as provided for in the All-Parties Fundamental Rights, as the basis of our programme. How will the provision be made? Surely not by keeping the economic and social structure of to-day. To give to the poor and depressed, you must take from the rich and those who possess. We have, therefore, to equalise as far as possible the present distinction

of wealth and at the same time to see that the principle of taxation is such as to prevent both great wealth and great poverty. That is to say, that the burden of taxation must be increased on the rich and decreased and even removed entirely from the poor.

We in this province have to face especially the *zamindar*-and-*kisan* problem. To our misfortune we have zamindars everywhere and they have prevented all healthy growth. Compare our province to other provinces like the Punjab and Gujrat, where there are peasant-holdings. We have indeed in this province produced in the past and have to-day great men who do honour to the country. But we have hardly a middle class ; we specialise in extremes of wealth and poverty. We must therefore face this problem of landlordism, and if we face it, what can we do with it except to abolish it ? There is no half-way house. It is a feudal relic of the past utterly out of keeping with modern conditions.

The abolition of landlordism must, therefore, occupy a prominent place in our programme and instead of that we should have small holdings ordinarily enough for a family to cultivate. But in order to prevent accumulations, we must prohibit all alienations of land and all transfers for debt.

How are we to abolish the big estates ? Some advocate confiscation and others full compensation. The latter is on the face of it impossible as we cannot find the enormous amount of money for it. And if we could find the money the burden on the land will continue and the peasant holder will certainly not profit by the change. The only person who will profit will be the zamindar who will be saved all trouble and worry and will get hard cash instead of a varying and troublesome income. Besides, there is no attempt at equalisation of wealth if full compensation is given. The example of other countries shows us that full compensation for land has brought no relief or solution of the problem. In no event therefore can we give full compensation.

Confiscation, on the other hand, though equitably perfectly justifiable, may lead to many cases of hardships. I would suggest therefore that some compensation might be given specially in cases of hardships. But compensation should certainly not be given so as to make the receiver of it a wealthy man again.

I would also suggest that the very poor holders of land, who can merely make a living out of it, should be entirely exempted from taxation.

Another problem that we have to face is the indebtedness of the peasantry. These debts must be subject to partial compensation in cases of hardships.

Taxation should be direct and as far as possible indirect taxation should be abolished. Further, this direct taxation should be steeply graduated so as to fall mainly on the larger incomes.

A tax which we have not got in India, though many other countries including England have got it, is an inheritance tax or death duties. This is an eminently just and social tax and should be introduced in India and steeply graduated so as to prevent large inheritance.

India has become sufficiently industrialised for us to pay special attention to the condition of the workers in the factories. Indeed, the history of the past few months with its strikes and lock-outs and shootings is such that no one can ignore industrial labour. Government does not ignore them. They realise far more than do most of our leaders the potential strength of the workers and so with frantic haste they have sought to muzzle and tie up Trade Unions. They are not troubled to act in this way with our conferences and the like, for they know well that our chief industry is talk, specially that of lawyers is a harmless commodity. The real danger to Government comes from the peasantry and the workers and the industrial workers being more capable of organised action must inevitably take the lead in mass action. We see, therefore, the attempts of Government to crush their organisation and prevent organised action. Wherever there is industrial trouble the whole strength of Government is always on the side of the big employer, and in addition to having to put up with starvation wages and miserable housing conditions, the workers have to face bullets of the Government soldiers and police. But even this repression was not considered enough and we have had the Trades Disputes Bill and the Public Safety Bill. The British Government has done and will do everything in its power to prevent workers from organising themselves. Are you going to take a neutral attitude in the matter and allow the workers to be crushed? Go to Cawnpore and see the terrible conditions of the workers and the houses they live in. Go to the jute regions of Bengal and compare the millions of profit made by British capitalists with the miserable workers.

Ordinary humanity must induce you to side with the workers. Political prudence will point the same way, for the workers are the most dynamic factor in our society to-day and if we ignore them we shall find ourselves ignored and put by on a shelf.

Therefore, we must deliberately help the workers to organise themselves and by workers I do not merely refer to those who do manual labour but all who work by their muscles or their brains. First of all, we have to combat the measures of government which hamper the growth of the workers. We must help trade-unions and try to develop factory committees to safeguard the rights of the workers. Our immediate programme must be the enforcement of the 8-hour day and the 44-hour week and the fullest provisions for compensation, insurance and the like. For women and children special provisions must be made, regarding hours of work, the kind of work which is suitable for them and maternity provisions. Healthy

and sanitary housing accommodation must be provided by the employers for every employee and a minimum living wage must be fixed. These suggestions are not revolutionary. Even from the capitalist point of view they are recognised to be essential in order to increase the efficiency of labour.

These are only some odd suggestions for you to consider. Many others will suggest themselves to you. **My present object is to impress you that we can no longer make any progress by the cry of Swaraj only. We must make it clear that we aim at economic and social Swaraj as well as political and for this purpose we must lay down a definite economic and social programme.** Only thus can you bring your movement for freedom in touch with reality and make it a dynamic and irresistible force. This is also the surest way of killing communalism.

Communalism cannot go by pious resolutions or endless talks of unity. If you will examine it, you will find that in essence it is the desire amongst intellectuals for the loaves and fishes of office. It has nothing to do with the masses but the masses are deluded and misled and made to forget their real troubles. If you direct their attention to economic facts which matter, you will automatically turn them away from communalism and the pseudo-religious mentality.

We have the curious fact to-day that some of our prominent politicians talk fondly of independence and yet claim all manner of communal rights and privileges. We are told repeatedly that the heart of the community is sound. I have no doubt that the heart of every community is sound, but this strange mixture of communalism and independence makes me doubt if the heads of those who combine the two are sound. For there is nothing in common between these two and you cannot build up the noble edifice of a free India on the shifting and sandy foundations of communalism. The All-Parties Conference has made a number of suggestions on the communal issue. These do not put an end to all communalism but they go a very long way in that direction and should, therefore, be cordially welcomed. Under the circumstances I believe they are the best solution of this problem and I trust this conference will fully endorse them and work for them.

Having defined our ideal, how are we going to achieve it? Every one says that we must have sanctions, but I have noticed a tendency in some of us to believe that if we shout together and shout long enough and do nothing else we shall succeed. Apparently they believe that the British dominion in India will suddenly give way like the walls of Jericho, if the noise we make is loud enough. That is I think the basis of the cry for Dominion Status and that is another reason why I consider Dominion Status as an ideal to lead away from the right path. It makes us think that sanctions are not necessary and that is a dangerous thought. Even a child in politics

knows that without strength behind a demand that demand is worthless.

We have, therefore, to devise sanctions. I have already hinted these sanctions can only come from mass organisation and mass action. The nature of that action must be determined at the particular moment but in principle it must be some kind of non-co-operation. We may not perhaps adopt all the items of the non-co-operation programme of 1921 but we must adopt the spirit of it leading to non-payment of taxes or other forms of mass civil disobedience.

It may be that we may be called upon to help England with our men and treasure in an imperialist war. The Congress has already given us a lead for this and we must watch with vigilance that we are not exploited again as we were in 1914.

India is not so weak as many people imagine. Our weakness is merely due to our own faint hearts and specially our fear of the masses. If we once get into touch with the masses and work with them, and for them, our strength will become enormous. World forces help us and even India, weak as she is, can make a difference in a crisis.

I have not referred so far to the Simon Commission, for so far as that is concerned I would be speaking to the converted. You will of course have nothing to do with it. That is only an example of the mentality of England and shows us how she wants to treat us. She will have no co-operation with us and she is only there to enforce her will. Why then should we waste our energy in evolving schemes of co-operation with her? Let us develop strength and ultimately the strong will prevail.

The report of the Nehru Committee and the decisions of the All-Parties Conference have been discussed threadbare and only a few days ago I had occasion at another provincial conference to deal with them at length. I have already referred to some parts of it, notably the communal recommendations. For the rest although, I disagree with some recommendations, I am prepared to commend it generally subject to the qualification of independence. I recognise fully the value of the report and do not wish by petty criticism to lessen it.

One thing more I refer to and that is the question of the Indian States. We have had recently a very illuminatory address by the Maharaja of Bikaner. Among various revealing statements he has made, perhaps the most revealing, is his clear declaration that in case of a future war between India and England, he will whole-heartedly support England against his own country. I do not think you will require any comment from me on this amazing declaration. If the Maharaja had lived in England

or France or Germany or the United States or indeed any other country and had made such a declaration, what kind of reception do you think would it have had ? The Maharaja is perhaps living mentally in the middle ages and still thinks of the divine right of kings and imagines like the French king of old *L'etal cest moi.* But the king who said this is long departed and a republic exists in his country, and in England the king is but a figurehead without the least power. It would be well for our princes and chieftains to remember that the days of kings and princes are past. This leads us to another conclusion. In drawing up programme of work we must see what classes and groups in the country stand to gain special privileges by the freedom of India and what stand to lose them. Let us be quite clear in our minds about this and having made this distinction let us draw up a programme for the former group. The latter can never be a help to us and in a moment of crisis may turn against us and do us great injury. An attempt to satisfy them and include them in our programme is imprudent not only on equitable grounds but also from the point of view of expediency.

FIFTH SECTION

Punjab Politics

The Punjab has always been a disturbing factor in the politics of all-India. Therefore, Jawaharlal has always paid a particular attention to the political currents flowing in the Five Rivers, because the blood of this soil has often been spilt to irrigate the plantations of British imperialism not only in India but throughout the British Empire. Therefore, Jawaharlal punctuates the moments of his freedom between imprisonments by visits to the Punjab. In this section are some of his utterances addressed direct to the Punjabis.

The Punjab and The Punjabis

[The Punjab finds a special place in the heart of Jawaharlal, because we mounted him upon the white horse in 1929 and helped him to pass the Resolution on Complete Independence ! He loves the heroic Punjabis, but he is disgusted with the present Punjab politics. Consequently his rebuke to the people of the Punjab is timely and let us hope it will fructify into the flower of increased effort for Complete Independence.]

BIGGEST MEETING I HAVE EVER ADDRESSED IN MY LIFE

" Let the soldier Premier, Malik Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana take up the case of the members of the Indian National Army, majority of whom happen to be Punjabis and save their lives," observed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing the second mammoth meeting of the citizens of Lahore. Thousands of people including men, women and children started pouring in from all parts of Lahore and suburbs since 2 o'clock. The arrangements at the meeting were, however, perfect and the crowd unlike the previous day behaved in a most disciplined manner and listened to Panditji's speech in pindrop silence. Congress volunteers were at their posts controlling the crowd tactfully.

Lala Jagat Narain, President of the District Congress Committee was in the chair.

Pandit Jawaharlal, who unexpectedly arrived at the meeting exactly at 7 p. m., was greeted with slogans of Zindabad and received prolonged ovation as he rose to address the gathering.

Panditji addressed the meeting for full two hours.

Pandit Jawaharlal congratulated the citizens of Lahore for their unusual discipline at the previous meeting which was the biggest meeting he had ever addressed throughout his public career. It was on both the days a pleasing sight to see vast concourse of people assembled there. Why was it so? It was because a humble servant of the nation and the motherland had become a symbol in their eyes like national flag. He belonged to the nation and the nation had made him. Despite the rigours of jail life he considered himself fortunate that the people of India confided in him and his only anxiety was that he should not lower the prestige of India.

Thousands of people, he said, whom they did not know and who were not heard of, had made great sacrifices in the cause of India's freedom. Lakhs had worked for the Congress and had helped in raising India to its present position.

PARTY BICKERINGS IN THE PUNJAB

Referring to the Punjab, Pandit Nehru pointed out that Punjabis had more latent energy and more enthusiasm and keen desire for freedom than ever before.

The Province was superior in many respects to several other provinces, but its energy was being wasted by party bickerings and personal squabbles at the cost of large interests of the country than other provinces.

Proceeding Pandit Nehru brought home to all those present the tremendous sacrifices made by countries like Britain, Russia, America and China for the liberation of their country. Similar sacrifices had not yet been made by Indians for the cause of freedom of their country.

Pandit Jawaharlal pointed out that he had no intention of minimising the sacrifices made by their countrymen during the last three years. They all knew through what a regime of repression some provinces of India had passed and how efforts were made by the authorities to crush the national movement in the country.

Tracing history of the Congress during the last 25 years, Pandit Nehru said that ever since the first non-co-operation movement, launched by Mahatma Gandhi, the country had made remarkable progress. It was entirely due to this awakening that the country passed through the firy ordeal during August, 1942. The Congress being an unlawful association during all these years, the enthusiasm of the people of the country had not abated in the least. During the short period after his release he had clearly seen that a

new life had undoubtedly been infused among the people throughout the length and breadth of India. The masses were still yearning for the freedom of the country.

EXHORTATION TO PUNJABIS

Pandit Nehru exhorted the Punjabis to derive the maximum benefit from the latent energy and unbounded enthusiasm which they possessed in an abundant degree and to use that energy in securing the freedom of the country.

Continuing, Pandit Jawaharlal said that on the one hand the Muslim League had raised the issue of Pakistan, while on the other hand, they were busy with economic, political, social and cultural problems affecting the world. India could not stand as an isolated unit unmindful of what was happening all over the world. Some people in India were clamouring for vivisection of the country while the world was drifting towards federation of several countries for the safeguard of future struggles. Nobody, he said, could compel a particular unit to remain attached to particular federation against their will.

DEMOBILISATION

Referring to the problem of demobilisation in India, Pandit Nehru said that it was a complex issue and added that present Government of India would not be able to tackle successfully this difficult question of resettling 20 lakhs of Indian soldiers, although they were expressing grave concern for their future.

Pandit Nehru alluded to another problem, which, he said, had been constantly disturbing his peace of mind for the last few days regarding the treatment to be meted out to the soldiers of the "Indian National Army," who had sided with Japan. Although the speaker was confirmed in his opinion that their action in joining the enemy was absolutely wrong and unfortunate, they were actuated by noble motives for the freedom of India. Freedom, he said, could not be secured by joining any foreign nation. The country, however, would wish lenient treatment towards them and would like to know as to what was happening behind the scene as regards their fate. Any hasty action against them might spoil the relations between England and India.

Concluding his speech, Pandit Jawaharlal appealed to all those present to sink their personal and party differences and work unitedly to solve the bigger issues of freedom of the country.

Addressing the gathering, Pt. Nehru gave his view of India's history and how it had evolved with special reference to the history of the Asiatic people. He began, of course, by referring to the Punjab, which he described as a "strange province with many peculiarities." He said often it is stated that he felt annoyed with the Punjab and chided the Punjabis. That was so, said Pt. Nehru,

but he wanted to add that every province and people had their peculiarities and shortcomings. It was easy to weigh them with good points which every province and its people have. But he wanted to assure his Punjabi friends that chiding or rebuking for any shortcoming could be given only where there existed no formalities and his rebuke and chiding to them were always a form of affection for them.

Replying to an interruption that the Kashmiris are half Punjabis, Pt. Nehru said the Kashmiris refuse to accept that. He, however, mentioned that he felt himself closely connected with this Punjab, because his mother was a Punjabi and he used to come and stay in the Punjab in his younger days.

One thing, however, which he did not like, was that any people or leaders of a province should go about asking favours from the British rulers. It did not look nice to him that such distinguished leaders as Master Tara Singh or others should ask for favours from British rulers. "We must all unite and carve our own destinies."

In the course of this talk, Pandit Nehru paid a glowing tribute to the people of the Punjab and said: "I go back from Lahore and the Punjab with vivid memories of these three days. A visit to the Punjab is always rather frightening because of the exuberance of its people but it is also an exhilerating experience. I have long been convinced that the people of the Punjab are a magnificent material for the great task of building up a new India. The only difference has been that their energies are often diverted into mutually contradictory channels. But I have always found that the disputes are all at the top and the mass of people are not too much interested in them, though they are influenced. So far as the Congress is concerned, it has enormous, though vague, hold on the people.

Their hold is not organisational as such. It is an attraction to the ideals of the Congress. If it can be turned into organisational hold, the Congress will sweep all in front of it. That can be done only on the basis of masses, especially those in the rural areas. The time seems to be ripe for doing that and I appeal to all Congressmen and to all those hundreds and thousands who have honoured me and moved me by their affectionate love to turn their minds to this vital task. They must all try to forget past conflicts and differences among themselves and remember only that they are the proud standard-bearers of the cause of India's freedom and nationalism, which the Congress has represented so worthily for such a long time. We want as large numbers as is possible for this work, but it must be remembered also that ultimately, it is the quality that always counts and quality alone. Each Congressman must remember that by his acts he may bring honour to the Congress or he may bring dishonour also, for he must be judged by higher standards than others. We have ourselves set the standard higher and we must try to live up to it.

Repression only helps in strengthening our national movement. Its latest proof is all that happened after August 1942. The Congress has come out hundred per cent. stronger from the struggle with thousands of new enthusiastic cadets thrown up, observed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru while addressing a closed-door meeting of Congressmen. About 2,000 workers from all over the province attended.

II

The Sword Arm of India

[Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru recently declared at the Lahore Station that he loves to rebuke the Punjabis. Why does he love to rebuke us? His presidential address at the Punjab Provincial Conference held on April 11th, 1928 supplies the answer. The sword arm of India, says Nehru, has allowed itself to be wielded by British Imperialism for oppression of the free peoples in Egypt, China and elsewhere. The speech is a magnificent study of the Punjab in the background of Indian politics and current world affairs.]

I am deeply grateful for the honour you have done me. But few of you, I fancy, will envy me my position here to-day. It has become customary at our congresses and conferences to refer to the crisis which continually confronts us and every year we are told that the situation is more critical than before. Too frequent reminders have made the warning lose some of its meaning and the cry of wolf often passes unheeded. But crisis or no crisis, it may be said without exaggeration that we are rapidly approaching the cross-roads of our destiny and whether we will it or not, we shall have to make a vital choice. I do not refer to the seven uninvited gentlemen from England who have recently visited us and threaten to come again despite all protestation. Their comings and goings do not vastly excite me. But greater things are happening than the Simon Commission, vaster changes are afoot. *The world is in a ferment and strange forces are at work. The gods of yesterday are neglected and lie almost forgotten and new ideas and new myths convulse the people. Even from India with its immemorial and crushing weight of tradition and its fear of change, the challenge to the dead past has gone forth and increases in volume.* Brave indeed must be the person who will don the role of prophet and point out with certainty the path to be pursued by us. I claim no such role and hence my hesitation in accepting the presidentship of this conference.

If the framing of a policy for India as a whole offers difficulties, the Punjab has her own problems which, small in themselves, have gradually overshadowed the longer issue and effectively prevent a solution. This province has earned a most unenviable reputation.

The Industrial Revolution has not affected India as much as other countries. Without going into all these changes in detail, some aspects of them might be worthy of consideration here.

Industrialism has resulted in greater production and greater wealth, in the concentration of wealth in a few countries and a few individuals and a more unequal distribution of wealth. It has resulted in a struggle for raw material and markets, and has thus brought into existence the imperialism of the last century. It has caused wars and has given rise to the colonial empires of to-day. It has laid the seed of future wars. And recently it has taken the shape of an economic imperialism which, without the possession of territory, is as efficient and potent in exploiting other countries as any colonial empire of yesterday. All this is well known but what is perhaps not sufficiently realised is the international character of industrialism. It has broken down national boundaries and has made each nation, however powerful it may be, dependent on other countries. The idea of nationalism is almost as strong to-day as it was and in its holy name wars are fought and millions slaughtered. But it is a myth which is not in keeping with reality. The world has become internationalised ; production is international, markets are international and transport is international, only men's ideas continue to be governed by a dogma which has no real meaning to-day. No nation is really independent, they are all interdependent. The world of reality has changed utterly but our ideas continue in the old rut and thus conflicts arise and society is ever in a ferment.

And if there is a conflict between facts and ideas in the West, how much more do we see it in India ? Many of us, regardless of what is happening all around us still live in the ancient past, and imagine that we can have it back again. Some want the Vedic age, others a reproduction of the early democratic days of Islam. But

> " The moving finger writes ;
> And having writ, moves on :
> Not all thy piety nor wit
> Shall lure it back to cancel half a line."

We forget that our ancient civilizations, great as they are, were meant for different ages and different conditions. We cannot have to-day, in an industrial age, an early agrarian economy such as we had in Vedic times; much less can we have in our country a civilization meant for a desert country more than 1,300 years ago. And many of our traditions and habits and customs, our social laws, our caste system, the position we give to women, and the dogmas which religion has imposed on us, are the relics of a past, suitable in those far-off days but utterly out of joint with modern conditions. They are shibboleths to-day, in conflict with reality. Men's ideas may lag behind but it is not possible to arrest the course of time and the evolution of life.

But where there is conflict between the two, there is friction, and stagnation and progress is slow. Where ideas come into line with realities the fortunate country advances with a bound. Thus we have the instance of defeated, backward, disorganised and dogma-

ridden Turkey changing suddenly, almost overnight, into a great and rapidly progressing country under the inspiring leadership of Kamal Pasha. We have also the instance of Russia, where a demoralised, illiterate and disunited people were changed into men of heroic mould, who faced and conquered war, famine and disease and a world of enemies. So also will India progress when she discards the myths and dogmas in favour of the reality of to-day.

We thus see that the world has now become a delicate and complicated organism, each part depending on the other, and none wholly capable of standing apart. How then can India ignore rest of the world or keep herself in splendid isolation? India must understand world forces and take her proper share in the shaping of them. India must also get her ideas in line with facts and realities. The day she does so, her progress will be stupendous.

I have referred to industrialism and its effects on the modern world. Its evils are obvious and many of us dislike them intensely. But whether we like them or not we must realise that the spread of industrialism cannot be checked. Even in India it is taking giant strides and no country can stop its onward march. Must we also succumb to all the evils which come in its trains or is it fruitful for us to adopt industrialism without its major evils? We must remember that industrialism means the big machine and the machine is but a tool to be used for good or ill. Let us not blame the tool if the man who holds it misuses it and causes injuries thereby.

In the West industrialism has led to big scale capitalism and imperialism. Many of us who denounce British imperialism in India do not realise that it is not a phenomenon peculiar to the British race or to India, or that it is the necessary consequence of industrial development on capitalist lines. For capitalism necessarily leads to exploitation of one man by another, one group by another and one country by another. Therefore we are opposed to this imperialism and exploitation. We must also be opposed to capitalism as a system and to the domination of one country over another. The only alternative that is offered to us is some form of socialism, that is the state-ownership of the means of production and distribution. We cannot escape the choice and if we really care for a better order of society and for ending the exploitation of man by man, we cannot but cast our weight on the side of socialism.

And if we so decide, what consequences follow? The necessary result is that we must not only fight British dominion in India on nationalistic ground but also on social and industrial grounds. This is all the more necessary as the modern form of imperial domination is not the old crude method of possession of territory, but the subtler way of economic imperialism. England may well permit us to have a larger measure of political liberty but this will be worth little if

she holds economic dominion over us. And no Indian, capitalist or socialist, if he appreciates the full significance of this new slavery, can willingly submit to it.

Another consequence that must follow the adoption of the socialistic view-point is our changing all such customs as are based on privilege and birth, and caste and the like. From our future society we must cast out all parasites, so that the many who lack utterly the good things of life may also share in them to some extent We must remember that poverty and want are no longer economic necessities ; although under the present anarchic capitalist system they may be inevitable. The world and our country produce enough or can produce enough for the masses to attain a high standard of well-being, but unhappily the good things are covered by a few and millions live in utter want. In India, the classic land of famine, famines are not caused by want of food but by the want of money to buy food. We have famines of money, not food.

The third consequence will affect our international contact and our international outlook. If we are opposed to imperialism and know that this is a phase of capitalism we must oppose the latter wherever we may meet it. England as a premier capitalistic and imperialistic Power becomes our chief opponent in this field also, and there can be no effective co-operation between India and England so long as she does not come into line with modern progressive thought.

In the light of these considerations let us briefly examine the question of independence for India. Even if the National Congress had not pronounced in its favour, I am sure none of you would require to be converted to it. But some of our elders and friends suffer strangely from various complexes and delusions and the British Empire is one of them. They cannot get out of the professions and habits of a lifetime, nor can they rid themselves of the chains of their own fashioning. What is the British Empire to-day? "The third British Empire" as an ardent advocate has called it. If we leave out India and the dependencies, it is like the farmer's cat in Alice in Wonder Land whose body has entirely disappeared and only the Jin has remained. How long can this disembodied Jin remain, I leave it to you to judge. The world has judged already and few imagine that it will endure long. The Empire is fast approaching dissolution and world crisis may end it. The British people have shown extraordinary ability in adapting themselves to changing circumstances and to this they owe their strength and the long lease of power that they have enjoyed. But the world is moving too fast for them and recent events, specially in relation to India, indicate that their old skill is gone. But whether the Empire endures or not, how can India find a place in it when her national and international and economic interests conflict with it in almost every vital matter ? We must recognise internationalism of to-day and act internationally if we are to face realities. We cannot be

independent in the narrow sense. When we talk of independence we mean the severance of the British connection. Afterwards we can develop the friendliest contact with other countries including England. The British Commonwealth, in spite of its high-sounding name, does not stand for this international co-operation, and in its world policy has consistently stood for a narrow and selfish ideal and against the peace of the world.

If independence is our only and inevitable goal, we cannot in logic, in decency, ask the British to protect us from other foreign countries. I am wholly prepared to accept the argument that if we want British help to defend our frontiers, we are not fit for independence. But I wholly deny that we cannot face the risk of foreign invasion without British aid. No country is strong enough to-day with the possible exception of the United States of America, to withstand a group of hostile countries. England certainly is not. But no one will say that England should, therefore, be deprived of her independence and put under alien control. The security of a country depends on many factors, on its relations with its neighbours and on the world situation generally. If the problem of the Indian defence is examined in the light of these factors, the strength of India becomes obvious. She has no great dangers to face and in a military sense she is by no means weak. But even if there was danger, it is shameful and cowardly to seek for help from a nation which was in the past and is to-day oppressing us and preventing all growth. Whatever independence may or may not mean and whether we use that word or another, the one thing that we must keep in the forefront of our programme is the immediate withdrawal of the British army of occupation from this country. That is the real meaning of freedom. Unless that takes place, all other talk is merely moonshine.

We may demand freedom for our country on many grounds. Ultimately it is the economic problem that matters. Our educated classes have so far taken the lead in the fight for *Swaraj*. The economic pressure on them was considerable and others were only vocal elements ; and so the demand has taken the form occasionally of Indianisation of services, of higher posts being thrown open to Indians. They are to blame for these demands. They have acted as every class conscious of its interests acts. But in doing so they have seldom paid heed to deeds of the masses. Whenever vital questions affecting the masses have arisen, they have been shelved, they have been asked to stand over till *Swaraj* has been attained ! Why confuse the issues now ? It has been said, we can settle our problems later. Like all class-conscious groups, they have considered themselves the most vital elements in the nation and in the name of freedom have really sought to advance their own interests and many of our intellectuals have become staunchest defenders of the privileges of empire as soon as they had their share of the titles and power. What shall it profit the masses of this country—the peasantry, the landless labourers, the workers, the shopkeepers, the artisans— if everyone of the offices held by Englishmen in India is held by Indians ? It may benefit them a little as they can bring

more pressure to bear on their own people than on alien Government. But fundamentally this condition cannot improve until the social fabric is changed, and I think that the only effective change can be the formation of a democratic socialistic State. But even from the narrow point of view of our intellectuals, it is now well recognised that no effective pressure can be brought to bear on the British Government without mass support. But in spite of recognition there is the fear of the masses and little is done. Mass support cannot come for vague ideal of *Swaraj*. It can only come when the masses realise what *Swaraj* means for them. Therefore it is essential that we must clearly lay down an economic programme, must have an ultimate ideal in view and must also provide for the immediate steps to be taken to bring them relief.

Our ideal thus can only be an independent democratic State and I would add a socialistic State, and for this we must work. What can be our methods? This is a revolutionary change from present conditions and revolutionary changes cannot be brought about by reformist tactics and methods ? The reformer who is afraid of radical change or of overthrowing an oppressive regime and seeks merely to eliminate some of its abuses, becomes in reality one of its defenders. We must, therefore, cultivate a revolutionary outlook, one that devises a radical and far-reaching change, and not merely that halting outlook of the half-hearted reformer. The way of violence not being open to us in our present conditions, the only other course is some form of non-co-operation. Everything that goes towards creating a revolutionary atmosphere helps everything that lessens its hinderances. I use the word 'revolutionary' in its proper sense without any necessary connection with violence. Indeed, violence may be, and I think this is to-day in India the very reverse of revolution. Acts of terrorism of a hero have counter-revolutionary effect and for this reason alone, apart from any other reasons, are injurious to the national cause. No nation has yet been built upon such individual acts of terrorism.

There was a great controversy in this country some years ago on the merits of Council-entry and the echoes of it still linger. It almost became a creed, a religious issue, a matter of faith. But the sole test of this, as of others, is the reaction it produces, on the national mind. I can quite conceive work in the councils helping us to produce the right atmosphere in some measure. But it will only do so if it is carried on in the right spirit and with the ideal always in view, not with the desire to pursue better reformist tactics. I must confess, however, that the able and decorous parliamentarians who through our councils cannot be mistaken for revolutionaries anywhere.

But you will tell me that all this may be very good but it is very vague. The real problem before you is how to exorcise communalism. I have already indicated to you the kind of India that I should like to build up. There is place for communalism or a dogma-ridden people in it. *Communalism, of course, has to be fought*

ruthlessly and suppressed. But I really do not think that it is such a power as it is made out to be. It may be giant to-day, but it has feet of clay. It is the outcome largely of anger and passion and when we regain our tempers it will fade into nothingness. It is a myth with no connection with reality and it cannot endure. It is really the creation of our educated classes in search of office and employment. How does the economic interest of a Hindu or Muslim or Sikh differ from each other ? Certainly not, because they have to profess different faiths. It may be that if there is a vacancy for a judgeship of a High Court, or a like occasion, the raising of the communal issue may profit an individual. But how does it generally profit his community ? What does it matter to the Muslim peasant whether a Hindu or Muslim is a judge in Lahore ? Economic interests run along different lines. There is a great deal in common between the Muslim and Sikh and Hindu zamindars : and great deal in common between the Muslim and Sikh and Hindu peasantry ; very little in common between a Muslim peasant and a Muslim zamindar. We must, therefore, begin to think of an act on like economic issues. If we do so, the myth of communalism will automatically disappear. Conflict there may be, but it will be between different classes and not different religions.

What communal interests are sought to be protected ? I think fundamentally they are cultural. Every country in the world has cultural minorities and it is a well-recognised principle that such minorities should have the fullest autonomy so far as their culture is concerned. So also in India every considerate cultural group should be given freedom and, indeed, should be encouraged to preserve and cultivate its culture. Only thus can we build up a rich and varied and yet common culture for India. Culture would include the question of language, education and schools.

If this culture question is settled satisfactorily, and sufficient safeguards are provided for the interests of minorities and groups which may be in danger of suppression, what remains of communalism ? If in addition we replace our present system ef territorial election by some method of election by economic units, we not only introduce a more efficient and progressive system, but also do away with the problem of joint and separate electorates and the reservation of seats. It is generally recognised now, or it ought to be, that separate electorates, which are meant to protect the interests of minorities, really injure them and reduce their effective power in the state. If anybody should be against that, it is the minority. But such is the power of a myth that many of us have come to believe that separate electorates are a " valued privilege " to which we must cling on. I think a little clear thinking will convince any person who is not a bigot on the subject that separate electorates are not only a danger to the State but specially to the minority community. Personally I am not in favour of territorial election at all, but if it is retained I am wholly opposed to separate electorates.

I do not fancy reservation of seats on a communal basis either, but if this solution pleases people I would agree to it. We have to face realities, and the fact remains that many people feel strongly on these subjects. I am quite certain that any arrangement that may be arrived at will be of a provisional nature only. A few of us cannot bind down future generations and I trust that those who come after us will look upon all problems entirely free from all religious and communal taints. It is necessary, however, for such of us as do not believe in communalism and religion interfering with political and economic matters, to take up a strong attitude now and not permit the extremists to have it all their own way.

In the course of this fairly long address, I have meagrely referred to the Simon Commission. I have done so partly because the problem we have to face is a much bigger one and partly because none of you here want any argument from me to boycott it. That boycott is going to continue in spite of the dejection of weak-hearted individuals and of well-meant attempts to " bridge the gulf."

The gulf will not be so easily bridged. And it is a folly to deceive ourselves that it can be easily bridged. Before a new bridge is built on the basis of friendship and co-operation, the present chains which tie us to England must be severed. Only then can real co-operation take place. It may be that a few of us are over-keen even now to find a way to lead them to the pleasant and sheltered paths of co-operation. If so they are welcome to them but they will be to none of us. We shall carry on this boycott regardless of back-striders. But a boycott of the Commission confined to public meetings and resolutions is the feeblest of methods. How can we make it really effective ?

A boycott of British goods has been suggested and we are fully entitled to have it. I hope we shall carry it on to the best of our ability. But we must know that such a general boycott justified as it is on sentimental grounds cannot take us far. The only real thing that can be boycotted is British cloth. Can we bring about an effective boycott of British cloth ? The present position stated roughly is, I believe, as follows : Our mills in India produce one-third of the cloth consumed by us ; our handloom weavers produce another third and we import from foreign countries the remaining third, of this over 90 per cent. being English.

There is a strong movement in the country to-day to boycott British cloth only. This is perfectly justified and if we could do so we would force the hands of England. But there is the serious danger of our failing to do so. If we permit other foreign cloth to come in, British cloth will then creep in the guise of Japanese or some other foreign cloth and it will be impossible both for the ordinary purchaser or the retailer to distinguish between the two. This practical difficulty seems to be inseparable and it would thus appear that in order to boycott British cloth we must boycott all foreign cloth. Another advantage this would bring us would be that khadi and mill-cloth in India would co-operate with each other for the boycott. If we favour other

foreign cloth, there can be no co-operation between the mills and the *khadi* producers in India. We must therefore concentrate on the boycott of all foreign cloth, thereby also helping tremendously our manufacture. A boycott of foreign cloth to-day really means boycott of British cloth. It means our displacing one-third of the cloth we consume and which comes from foreign countries by cloth manufactured by us. This should offer no great difficulty, if our *khadi* organisation and our cotton mills co-operate in the task instead of competing with each other. It is well-known that *khadi* can be produced in almost unlimited quantities at short notice if there is demand for it. Our mills even with their existing machinery can also greatly increase their output. Thus there is no doubt that we are in a position to produce enough to boycott foreign cloth totally and in the near future, provided only the will to do so is present. It is for the the public to express this will. If they do so, all other difficulties will disappear. We cannot expect those who profit by the import of foreign cloth to feel enthusiastic over the boycott ; it must cause loss to the importers and others in the trade. But are we to sacrifice the interest of India and her millions for the sake of a handful of importers. Most of our mill-owners also have not a good record. They have in the past sought to profit by national sentiment in India, they have taken enormous dividends and yet have treated piteously the poor workers who were the foundations of their fortunes. To-day instead of combating foreign cloth, many of them are competing with coarse *khadi* and are thus profiting even by the *khadi* sentiment of the people. If they could see far enough and knew their real interest, they would realise that their progress is bound up with the good-will of the people, and their whole-hearted co-operation in the boycott would benefit them even more than it would the nation as a whole. But this co-operation can only be based on a full justice to the workers in their mills and the minimum of profit.

An effective boycott is clearly possible with *khadi* and Indian mill-cloth co-operating. Even if only a few millowners are agreeable to our conditions we can work with them, and I am sure that others will be drawn into our movement later. But if there is to be no co-operation with the mills, what can we do then ? Our duty is clear. We must, by concentrating on *khadi* only, bring these misguided owners to reason and make this boycott of cloth as effective as we can.

I have in an earlier part of this address referred to the coming of industrialism to India and have stated that I believe it to be an inevitable process. I have no objection to the big or small machine and I think that properly used they can be made to serve man and not to dominate over him. And yet I have advocated the use of *khadi* also. I have done so, because I am convinced that in our present conditions and in the future for sometime, *khadi* is a boon to the poverty-stricken millions of India. I cannot say if *khadi* will be necessary for us in the distant future. But I can say that to-day

it supplies a very real want and wherever it has been produced, it has brought a measure of well-being in its train. The theory of its being an ideal auxiliary to agriculture would prove this ; but if there was any doubt, our experience and the evidence of our eyes has removed it utterly. To bring immediate relief to our long-suffering peasantry, to make India more self-sufficient in the matter of cloth in near future, to make the boycott of foreign cloth successful, *khadi* to-day is essential. The necessity for *khadi* is even greater in case of war or crisis, when automatically foreign imports will cease. How can we satisfy our needs then ; our mills will make vast profits, prices of cloth will soer up and our poor folk will practically have to go naked. Only *khadi* will meet the situation then. It will supply the growing demand and will force the mills to keep their prices down. So even from the point of view of war, *khadi* is a necessity.

But if war comes, and everything indicates that it will come before long, we shall have to face other and more vital problems than that of boycott of foreign cloth. The Madras Congress has given us a lead in this matter and it is for this province to ponder over this lead, for the real burden of action will fall on the Punjab. You and your gallant soldiers have been exploited enough in the past not in India only, but in the four quarters of the world. Even to-day they are made to do the dirty work of British imperialism in China, in Persia and in Mesopotamia, and they are used to suppress people who are our friends and neighbours and who have done us no harm. It is time that we put an end to this shameful exploitation of the courage of our manhood. *We are told that we are not capable of defending our country against the foreign invasion, but our soldiers are capable enough af defending the British Empire, in Europe, in Asia and in Africa. You know how our man-power and our wealth was exploited by the British during the last war.* You know also the measure of return that we got for our help, it was the Rowlatt Act and Martial Law in the Punjab. Are you prepared to be deluded again, to be exploited again and to be thrown into the scrap-heap again ? Wise men, they say, profit by the failures and experience of others ; ordinary men by their own experience ; and fools by neither. We may not be very wise, but let us not be fools either. Let us make up our mind now what we shall do when a crisis comes. Let us decide that whatever else we may or may not do, we shall not permit ourselves to be exploited by British imperialism. Let us say with the Madras Congress that if the British Government embarks on any warlike adventure and endeavours to exploit India, it will be our duty to refuse to take any part in such a war or to co-operate with them in any way whatsoever. This will be no easy matter. It will mean our having to face and endure fines and hardship, but if we have the courage to face them and the capacity to endure them to the end and the statesmanship not to compromise. We shall emerge triumphant from this ordeal and our dear country which has so long suffered alien domination will be free again.

III

Suppression of Human Rights

(Nainital, June 7, 1946)

Pandit Nehru says : " Odd things happen in India but the Punjab surely must hold the record for oddest of these. In the Punjab Ministers exist somewhere at the top but as of old it is the District Magistrates of the Punjab who really function as rulers. The District Magistrates of the Punjab are also of a special variety and their authoritarian decrees may not be touched by any Minister. Then of course there is the C. I. D. which flourish like the green bay tree and is a law unto itself. What the Ministers do in the Punjab is not very clear to the uninitiated.

" Recently we have had a remarkable instance in Gujranwala which is significant of the mentality of the real rulers of the province. The British Labour Party and Government which claim to be Socialist should ponder over it. The Punjab Congress Socialist Party intended holding a workers' training camp there. This was not a military camp, nor was there any parade or drilling about it. It was just the summer study camps so often held in England or elsewhere. Various objections were taken to this by the authorities and all manner of obstructions were placed in the way of the organisers. To avoid trouble, they shifted to a private house where they intended to hold the study circles. But the C. I. D. did not approve of even this and the District Magistrate passed the following order on June 1 : ' On a careful examination of the entire position it is not possible for me to accord permission to a series of study circles being held at Gujranwala by the Punjab Congress Socialist Party'.

" This means that even private study groups cannot be held in private houses. It must be remembered that the Punjab Congress Socialist Party is a legal party. A greater interference with the most elementary human rights can hardly be imagined. Obviously this kind of interference cannot be tolerated for long. It is for the Punjab Government to consider whither it is heading and what kind of credit it is going to have in the eyes of the world."[1]

SIXTH SECTION

Defence of India

Defence of India is the principal concern of the British imperialists as well as the Indian patriots, but they look at the same problem from different angles. In this section have been collected some of the speeches of Jawaharlal which discuss the questions of defending India for the people and not for the British which is the chief anxiety of the imperialists.

I

Visions of War

[*Who was responsible for war? Britain or Germany? Jawaharlal saw with a prophetic vision that war was coming four years before Hitler came to power and twelve years before the war started. This speech is a remarkable treatise in apportioning responsibility for the Second World War. Jawaharlal's study of the European situation is simply unchallengeable. This is the full text of the speeches delivered at the Indian National Congress held at Madras in December 1927 in moving two resolutions on War Danger and Independence. Jawaharlal describes vividly the "secret" preparations of war made by Great Britain in the twenties which fathered Hitler and mothered the monster of the Second World War*].

"This Congress has noted with grave concern the extraordinary and extensive war preparations which the British Government is carrying on in India and in the Eastern Seas, especially in the North-West Frontier of India. **These preparations for war are not only calculated to strengthen the hold of British Imperialism in India in order to strangle all attempts at freedom, but must result in hastening a disastrous war in which an attempt will be made to make India again a tool in the hands of foreign imperialists.**

"The Congress declares that the people of India have no quarrel with their neighbours and desire to live at peace with them, and asserts their right to determine whether or not they will take part in any war.

"The Congress demands that these war preparations be put an end to, and further declares that in the event of the British Government embarking on any warlike adventure and endevouring to exploit India in it for the furtherance of their imperialist aims, it will be the duty of the people of India to refuse to take any part in such a war or to co-operate with them in any way whatsoever." Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in commending the resolution for the acceptance of the Congress said :—

Mr. President and comrades,—This session of the Indian National Congress will have many important resolutions to consider and adopt. But I venture to say that not one of them will be more important than the one I have just now placed before you. **It is important because any war nowadays is an international disaster. It must result in terrible slaughter and destruction. It must let loose as the last war let loose, the flood-gates of hatred and barbarism.** When all countries and all nations are linked together and cannot be separately considered, it is inconceivable even if a war is fought outside the frontier of India, that it would leave India untouched. We have intimate connection with any such war, because it is likely to be fought very near our frontiers and India is very likely to be involved in it. If there is such a war, you and I will not sit peaceably holding our conferences and Congresses. Indeed, we may ourselves hear the roaring of cannons, we may see bombshells dropping from aeroplanes upon our peaceful villages. It is very important also because such a war will result—I hope it does not result—in strengthening British imperialism to such an extent that it may make it more difficult for us to achieve freedom. It may remove for a generation or two our hope of freedom, so that in any event we cannot ignore any preparations for war or any chance of war.

No man or woman can ignore it, least of all an Indian who desires to achieve freedom for his country. **It is a well-known fact that all countries are preparing more or less for war. It is not England only; it is every country because in Europe to-day there is fear. Europe is in the grip of fear and out of fear comes hatred and out of that comes violence and barbarism. Every country in Europe hates every other country. The most feared and hated country in Europe is England.** There is talk of disarmament, there is talk of peace. But those of you who have taken the trouble to study what has been happening at Geneva and elsewhere will realize that all this talk of disarmament is mere camouflage. To-day Europe is perhaps a greater powder magazine than it was in 1914 when the last great war broke out. War has not broken out yet because all nations are exhausted. But all the seeds of war are present and at present in greater number than they were thirteen years ago. When you look at the Balkans, Poland, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, Lithunia, and Russia, everywhere there is preparation for war, and there is chance for war. Let us see what attitude, with which we have most relation, has been taken

in these war preparations and in this talk of peace and disarmament. We are specially interested in Britain's attitude. We have had in recent times various disarmament Conferences at Geneva. There was a Naval Disarmament Conference also. But these Conferences failed largely because Britain could not agree to proposals made by other countries. Indeed, in the past, Britain has definitely refused to accept the principle of compulsory arbitration with a little country like Switzerland, because it may be given up as a dangerous principle ! It has stood its right to wage war without any reference to the League of Nations or to any other authority. At the last meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations, Sir Austin Chamberlain made an extraordinary speech on behalf of England. He stated that he was not prepared to sacrifice the Empire for the vague ideals of peace and disarmament of the League of Nations. For him the British Commonwealth was a greater thing than those ideals.

What is the Empire but India ? It comes to this. For the sake of India, to hold India under subjection, Sir Austin Chamberlain and the British Government cannot agree to the principle of disarmament or peace. **It is well-recognised in Europe specially by small nations who are always raising this question in the League of Nations that England is the greatest obstacle in the attainment of disarmament or world peace.** I should like to indicate to you some of the war preparations which England is making. You know that preparations for war are secret preparations. Nations do not advertise when they are going to prepare for war. Nonetheless when preparations are being carried on a most extensive scale—on the scale which England has been carrying on—it is impossible to hide them. So some of these things have come to light. The biggest and one of the latest things we have had for a number of years before us is the Singapore base. Why is England spending millions and millions of pounds and making the great naval base of Singapore ? Surely it can only be a challenge directed against China and Japan and also against France, or if there is a war, there is a danger of France declaring war against England. Then England can threaten French possessions in Indo-China from Singapore. It is also directed against the Dutch East Indies, because England can force Holland to be neutral in case of war. It is directed partly at any rate against America and American domination in the Pacific, because in case of a conflict England could sweep down the Phillippine Islands and take possession of them. It is chiefly directed against India because it is for the retention of India that all these things are done. Imagine that if there is a struggle in India, then the Singapore base will facilitate the transport of troops from Australia to India and in many other ways will help the British in taking the offensive in India. So much for the Singapore base.

" Then we have another naval base which is being made at Trincomalee. We have also the Great Royal Indian Navy which has recently been created with a flourish of trumpets. Whatever it may be, it is not an Indian Navy except perhaps that the

expenses for it will come out of the Indian Exchequer. This Navy is merely an adjunct of the British Navy to help the British Government against India although it may be at our cost. Again, I should like to draw your attention to the rapid development of the transport system in India specially in the North-West Frontier Province, Western Punjab and the north-east frontier in India. **War nowadays very largely depends on transport. That is why the transport system has been perfected. Strategic railways have been laid all over the North-Western Frontier. You have heard of the Khyber Pass Railway.** You will also hear subsequently of other strategic railways which are being built at great cost for military reasons. When military reasons are considered, cost is no consideration. Military roads have been built from the Khyber Pass, from the Punjab, from the North-Western Frontier, right up to Karachi. Motor-lorry service has been started from Karachi to Peshawar. All this will facilitate the transport of troops and other materials in time of war. Although railways are there, railways might perhaps not be suitable—they may perhaps have strikes to contend against; therefore the whole military machinery of England is being made self-sufficient.

Now let me come to the north-eastern frontier in Assam. Recently you might have noticed in the papers that proposals are being considered that a part of Assam to the north-east of India may be converted into a new military province like the North-Western Frontier to facilitate the carrying on of war there, if necessary. For this purpose roads are laid, railways are projected between India and Burma and even between Burma and Assam. You may remember that the *Forward* of Calcutta was some-time ago banned from entering Burma. The reason why it was banned was that it published and criticised something about these military roads in Assam, and the proposal to create a new military province. Let me go back to the North-Western Province where there is an extraordinary concentration of air forces and tanks. Those who know have told us, it is the finest and best equipment that any army possesses. Karachi has been created an air base and other bases in the North-Western Province are being prepared so that the province is to-day full of activity for preparations for war. Two proposals have been made in England and also in Anglo-Indian journals in India which, although officials denied in Parliament, persist in getting publicity in the press. These periodicals are supposed to know what Government are doing and these proposals are of the greatet interest to us. The first was that a part of the British Expeditionary Force should be stationed in India because there is more danger of war in Asia than in Europe. Therefore it is desirable that that force should be ready in India and should immediately start war-like preparations when necessary. The second proposal was that these highly developed mechanised forces should be used when there is any danger of war. The procedure that England should adopt was coldly stated in the English press to be,

not to wait for an attack but to make a forward spring into Central Asia across Afghanistan in one sweep. This was proposed because just in the same way Germans are supposed in their attack on France to have made a forward spring across Belgium.

I should like to tell you one or two things also in connection with the war preparations of Britain, which a friend of mine has drawn attention to. He himself is a famous doctor and tells me that a large number of persons have received a circular letter from the Medical Military Department of India. This letter has been issued to every member of the Civil-Military Department and he has been asked if he is prepared in case of emergency to serve as Medical Military Officer. Another letter has been issued to all doctors who have served in the last war asking them if they are prepared to join the Medical Reserve. Friends, I should like you to consider what all this means. When the resolution was moved in the Subjects Committee, some people thought that it was rather an unnecessary resolution. They have not heard of any military preparations and they do not know anything of the coming war. They think that our domestic problems are more important. They ask why we should waste time and energy over what might be happening in the North-West Frontier Province. I beg of you to consider whether these few facts are not sufficient to make you realise the great danger of war that exists in the world and round about us in particular. If such a danger exists, are you prepared to take no notice of it, but discuss only petty problems ?

Two more things I want to tell you in connection with these preparations. The recent treaty between England and Mesopotamia the Anglo-Iraq treaty—is one. And the second is the Amir's visit to India. I would not be surprised if the cordial welcome the British Government extended to him, has not something to do with the desire of the British Government to win him over. We are not in a position to stop the war, it may be. But at any rate we are in a position to make it clear what attitude India will take up and it is quite possible and conceivable that if India's attitude is clearly stated then England too may change hers. **England might not dare to provoke war when she knows that India would not support the war but actually hinder the conduct of the war.** Now this resolution lays down clearly that India has no quarrel with her neighbours. As to the declaration itself, it is our right to determine whether we shall join the war or not. Thirdly, another declaration follows and that is the most important. In case war comes and an attempt is made to exploit you, you will refuse to be exploited and to take any part in the war. I trust that if war comes and I think war may be nearer than most of us imagine—it may come in a year, two years or five years—the National Congress will follow up the lead given to-day. I also trust that the Indian people will rally round the Congress forgetting their petty differences and generally adopt the

attitude which the Congress has suggested and refuse to participate in the war and suffer any consequence that might follow. I am convinced that if the Congress and the Indian people adopt this attitude, they will emerge from that great ordeal much better, much freer and India will be an united and independent nation. (Applause.)

INDEPENDENCE RESOLUTION

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru rising amidst cheers said :—

It is my high privilege to place before you the Resolution of Independence. (Cheers).

The resolution reads thus :—

" The Congress declares the goal of the Indian people to be complete national independence."

I do not think I can describe this resolution in any better language than that used by the distinguished ex-President of the Congress, Dr. Annie Besant, in an interview which she gave immediately after the Subjects Committee had accepted this resolution. She said that it was a dignified and a clear statement of India's goal (Cheers).

No special remarks are necessary from me in commending this resolution for your acceptance specially after almost complete unanimity with which the Subjects Committee approved of it. But I wish to explain very clearly one or two points connected with this resolution. The first thing is that this resolution although it makes clear the goal does not change the present creed of the Congress. If you pass this resolution, you declare by a majority, I hope by an over whelming majority, that the Congress is to-day for complete independence. Nonetheless you leave the doors of the Congress open to such persons as may not approve of this goal, as they perhaps are satisfied with a lesser or a smaller goal. I think that although the door of the Congress is open, there should be no doubt, if you approve of this resolution, everybody must say that the majority of the Congressmen to-day demand complete independence for the country. Now this resolution as placed before you is a very short and simple one. In the Subjects Committee the resolution, as you may know because the proceedings are quite public, was slightly longer and more complicated. But ultimately it was changed to this present formula and this formula was adopted.

I wish to make it clear to you that the adoption of this formula does not in any way change the spirit or the meaning of the resolution. It means what it says. It means complete independence. It means control of the defence forces of the country. It means control over the financial and economic policy of the country.It means control over our relations with foreign countries. (Hear, hear). Without these things independence would be a travesty and camouflage.

Thirdly, I wish to point out to you lest there be any mistake that this goal, which I hope you will adopt to-day, is the immediate goal and not a goal of the far distant future (Cheers). Whether we achieve it to-day or to-morrow, a year hence, or ten years hence, I cannot say. That depends on your strength and the strength of the country.

May I in conclusion express my heartfelt gratitude that the Congress is about to adopt the goal worthy of our country's high destiny and hope that this goal may be reached in the near future ? (Cheers)."

II

Can India Defend Herself ?

[*Can India defend herself in case British Government decides to quit India ? Yes— says Jawaharlal. This is the substance of the presidential address delivered at the Kerala Provincial Conference held at Payyanur on 28th May 1928. If Indian soldiers can defend the British Empire in different theatres of the world as mercenaries, they can certainly defend their homeland as soldiers of liberty, better-trained and better-organized, under patriotic generals.*]

India has little in common with England and her economic interests conflict in almost every particular with those of England. An imperial bond between the two can only be an enforced union productive of ill-will and continuous friction and must of necessity be to the advantage of England.

For the present, however, the union must necessarily be the union of the lion and lamb with the lamb inside the lion. This is evident if we study the relation of England with other countries like China, Persia, Mesopotamia and Egypt. She has opposed all attempts at freedom of these countries and only recently we had an amazing example of her imperial policy in Independent Egypt. Even in regard to the countries of Europe, she is acknowledged to be the main obstacle to world-peace and co-operation. It is inconceivable, therefore, that India can have a real measure of freedom within the limits of the British Empire and you will welcome, I am sure, the resolution of the Madras Congress laying down our goal as complete national independence. This does not mean the ill-will to England or to any other country, but it is a condition precedent to our future growth and to the development of peaceful relations with other countries including England. The Madras Congress resolution is important specially because it attacks the psychology of submission and slavery and helplessness, which generations of foreign rule have developed in us. It prepares our minds for the will to be free without which freedom cannot come even to-day. There are so many of us who take an academic interest in Indian freedom, who whilst they talk of freedom feel no inner urge for it. Doubts and

difficulties assail them and fear born of a slave psychology hampers their efforts. We are told of the dangers that India may have to face in the event of England leaving us to our own resources, of the fear of foreign invasion and of our inability to cope with it. But it is not realised that the strength that succeeds in enforcing India's will on England also succeeds in protecting India from other foreign incursions. **It is not felt keenly enough that we are even now suffering under a foreign invasion and the future cannot bring any greater disaster to us. Not to get rid of our present domination because of future problematical dangers is the height of fear and weakness. But what external dangers will face us when the British leave India? We have an Indian army brave and efficient, well-tried in many continents. It is good enough to fight for the freedom of the Allies in the battle-fields of Europe and it will be good enough to fight if necessary for the freedom of India. When freedom comes, we shall develope our army and strengthen it and make it more efficient than it is to-day.**

The strength of the country not only depends on the international situation and the balance of power. Poland, Lithuania, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungry, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Jugoslavia, Portugal, Bulgaria, Roumania and many other countries are independent, but not one of them can withstand one great Power. Even the great Powers cannot separately cope with a combination against them ; but they remain independent because none dare attack them for fear of complications. The other country could not tolerate that the rich prize of India should fall again to another Power. But what power could indeed threaten us ? France, Germany and Italy are too much involved in their mutual hatred and jealousies and are too afraid of each other to trouble us at all. The United States of America are too far away for effective action. Japan has to face hostility of the United States and even of the Western European Powers and cannot dare embark on a new adventure, which would be fraught with the greatest risks for her. Afghanistan is strong in defence but weak in attack and it is inconceivable that with its limited resources it can do us any harm. It may at most carry out a number of successful raids before we can defeat it and hold it in check. But there is absolutely no reason why we should have any such relations with Afghanistan. Russia remains the sole danger but even this danger is largely imaginary, as every one knows or ought to know, that no country is in greater need of peace than Russia. The Great War, the civil war, the famine and the blockade have shaken her foundations and done her tremendous injury. She has made much good of her losses but above everything else she desires peace to build up the new social order she has established. Experts tell us that although strong in defence she is weak in attack. Her whole government is based on the good-will of the workers and

the peasantry and she cannot count on this good-will in an oppressive campaign. She has so many enemies that she dare not of her own accord start an invasion of India and leave her western flanks exposed to attack. Nor has she any economic reason to covet India. **India and Russia are too alike to help each other much. Both are largely agricultural countries with raw materials and markets. She wants capital and machinery and India can supply neither. We thus see that no danger threatens India from any direction and even if there is any danger we shall be able to cope with it.**

It may be, however, that we are unable to cope with it and go down in the struggle. That risk must be faced as it has been faced by every brave people in history. Because of risk, we cannot give up our birthright or take the shameful position of asking for the British help to defend our country and liberty. We must make it clear that on no account are we prepared to have the British forces in our country. The alien army of occupation must be withdrawn.

It is said that by laying stress on Independence, we antagonise other parties in the country just when the need for the unity was the greatest. Unity is certainly most desirable, but can unity be achieved by the sacrifice of our principles? Our opponents and even those of our colleagues for whose sake we sacrifice our principles will respect us the less for it. Let us respect even sentiments and the prejudices of others. But let us not give in on any matter which we consider vital. The Congress has already shown its desire to co-operate whenever it can with our groups and parties without giving up our ideals and our goal. We have co-operated wholeheartedly with others for the boycott of the Simon Commission and are to-day co-operating with numerous groups in the All-Parties Conference. **We could give no greater evidence of our goodwill, and our tolerance cannot extend to sacrifice of the principle and the goal; and the ideal we have set before us is too vivid to be forgotten or discarded for a temporary compromise. We have to travel the road together respecting each other and it may be that when we reach the cross-roads we may have converted many others to our view. If we fail to do so, we would agree to differ and part company without rancour or ill-will.**

You must have been disappointed at the proceedings of the All-Parties Conference in Bombay and yet the very fact that we are having so much difficulty in finding a solution to contending claims shows that we are at grips with the real problems. By ignoring them or making a patch-work compromise we cannot solve them. It is a measure of our earnestness that we are trying to face them squarely, and I have every hope that if we continue to do so, we shall find a solution.

What are these problems we hear of—controversies about the separation of Sind and separate and joint electorates and reservation of seats? If you go to the bottom of all this, you find one all-pervading cause. It is fear of the Muslim that the Hindu may exterminate him, the fear of the Hindu that the Muslim may crush him, the fear of each community or groups. It is a senseless fear. To protect itself, each community wants a privileged and dominating position in each province. Surely no group should dominate over another and the Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League each desire domination and there can be no compromise between the two. Are we then to give up the task as hopeless? The duty of the Congress and of all other organisations which are not based on pure communalism is clear. After paying due regard to the fears, whether justified or not, they must evolve a constitution which should be as just and reasonable as can be expected under the circumstances and then should place it before the country. And the country as a whole, I feel sure, will accept it if it is based on reason and justice.

Unhappily it is not possible in this world of ours to-day to produce an ideal constitution. We cannot ignore prejudice and unreason, but let us at any rate try to approximate to the ideal as far as we can. The history of India tells us that danger has always come because of the want of central authority. We have too much of decentralisation. If we are to build up a strong India, we must have a strong Central Government but at the same time we cannot afford to kill the rich and varying cultures of India by having too much uniformity and discouraging local effort and enterprise. In other countries, the tendency to-day is to give full local autonomy to cultural areas. We must, therefore, while laying stress on a strong Central Government, accept the principle of giving considerable autonomy to different areas having traditions and cultures of their own. The best test of a culture is that of language. There may be too many small autonomous areas. The economic life of the country may suffer; but this can be safeguarded by giving up powers to large areas including several autonomous cultural areas. If this principle is kept in mind and if in addition we have joint electorates and proper safeguards for all the minorities and backward groups, I think we might evolve a satisfactory constitution for a period at least. Let us hope that committee which the All-Parties Conference has appointed will meet with success in drawing up this constitution. It is becoming clear that the Indian States cannot be ignored or excluded. Nothing can be more fatal for India than a division between the two independent entities. The problem has become an urgent one because we find that efforts are being made to raise a barrier between the two parts of India. Recently a scheme has been published on behalf of a

number of Indian princes under a superficial garb of good-will to British India. This scheme lays down the dangerous principle of separation of Indian States and so far as the people of the States are concerned, we are told, they will live under a rule of law. We know well what rule of law and order means. This scheme must, therefore, be combated by us not only in British India but in the States. Even such of the ruling princes as are wise and foreseeing enough should reject it and take their stand by their own people and by the people of British India. We stand together and nothing must be allowed to separate us.

III

Beyond Our Frontiers

[*In this short speech delivered on the eve of Second World War, Jawaharlal declares that the people of India are profoundly interested in international affairs, but Indian Nationalism is entirely different from the aggressive nationalism of dictatorial countries. Independent India will be a shoulder of strength to the faltering powers of democracy, and it is in the interest of Britain that India should be an independent and powerful country.*]

Nationalism is in ill odour to-day in the west, and has become the parent of aggressiveness, intolerance and brutal violence. All that is reactionary seeks shelter under that name—Fascism, Imperialism, race bigotry and the crushing of that free spirit of enquiry which gave the semblance of greatness to Europe in the nineteeth century. Culture succumbs before its onslaught and civilisation decays. Democracy and freedom are its pet aversions and in its name innocent men, women and children in Spain are bombed to death, and fierce race persecution takes place. Yes it was Nationalism that built up the nations of Europe a hundred years or more ago and provided the background for that civilisation whose end seems to be drawing near. And it is Nationalism which is the driving force to-day in the countries of the East which suffer under foreign domination and seek freedom. To them it brings unity and vitality and a lifting of the burdens of the spirit which subjection entails. There is a virtue in it up to a certain stage ; till then it is a progressive force adding to human freedom. But even then it is a narrowing creed and a nation seeking freedom, like a person who is sick can think of little besides its own struggle and its own misery.

India has been no exception to this rule, and often in the intensity of her struggle, she has forgotten the world and thought only in terms of herself. But as strength came to her and confidence born of success, she began to look beyond her frontiers. The increasing interest she has taken in the problems of the world is a measure of the growth of her nationalist movement.

Perhaps nothing is so surprising in India today as this anxious interest in foreign affairs and the realisation that her own struggle for freedom is a part of the world struggle. And this interest is by no means confined to the intelligentsia, but goes deep down to the worker, the petty shopkeeper and even to a small extent to the peasant. The invasion of Manchuria by Japan caused a wave of sympathy for China ; and Japan, which had so far been popular with Indians, began to be disliked. The rape of Abyssinia by Italy was deeply felt and resented. The tragic events of Central Europe produced profound impression. But most of all India felt, almost as a personal sorrow, the revolt against the Republic of Spain and the invasion of China, with all their attendant horrors. Thousands of demonstrations were held in favour of Spain and China and out of our poverty we extended our helping hand to them in the shape of food and medical missions.

This reaction in India was not due primarily to humanitarian reasons, but to growing realisation of the significance of the conflicts in the world, and to an intelligent self-interest. We saw in Fascism the mirror of the Imperialism from which we had suffered, and in the growth of Fascism we saw defeat for freedom and democracy, for which we struggled with our long experience of British Imperialism, we distrusted the assurance so often given, of British support, of collective security to League of Nations.

Because of this we followed, perhaps with greater clarity than elsewhere, the development of British foreign policy towards cooperation with the Fascist Powers, and our opposition to British Imperialism became a part of our opposition to all Imperialism and Fascism.

" To this British foreign policy we were entirely opposed and yet as parts of the empire, we were bound by it. By resolution, and public declaration we dissociated ourselves from it, and endeavoured in such ways as were open to us to develop our foreign policy. The medical mission that we sent to China or the foodstuffs that went from India to Spain were our methods of asserting our foreign policy and dissociating ourselves from that of Britain. We laid down further our line of action in the event of World War breaking out. It was for the people of India to determine whether India would join a war or not, and any decision imposed upon us by Britain would be resisted. Nor were we prepared on any account to permit our resources to be exploited for an imperialist war.

The Indian nationalist movement has stood for many years for full independence and severance of our tie with the British empire. Recent events in Europe have made this an urgent necessity for us. We must control our foreign policy, our finance and







The Magnetic Man of the Moment, Jawaharlal is a dynamo of ceaseless activity. Whether unfurling the National Flag or setting up a Congress Camp or presiding over a ceremony, you find him in the thickest of the battle. He is the chief target for hundreds of cameras, thousands of flowers and millions of human eyes.



When Pandit Nehru goes his way, thousands line up the road to hear him speak. En-route to Kashmir, Jawaharlal is making a short speech at Sunny Banks (Murree Hills) where people gathered for his "Darshan." Even though worn out with long imprisonment, Jawaharlal never disappoints the people, because he knows they trudge up to him from hundreds of miles to get his message.

our defences, and have perfect freedom to develop our own contacts with other countries.

Foreign affairs are thus casting their long shadow over the Indian national struggle, and the growing consciousness of this makes India look at the world with an ever-increasing interest. She thinks of the day, which may not be long, distant, when she will be a free country, and already she prepares mentally for that change. The British Empire is fading away before our eyes, and everyone knows that it cannot hold India in subjection for long. Responsible statesmen in England no doubt realize this, and yet it is exceedingly difficult for them to give up the assumptions and mental atmosphere of a century ago, and adapt themselves to what logic tells them is the inevitable end.

That is the dilemma of Britain to-day. There are only two courses open to her in regard to India. The natural and the logical course is to recognise what must be and adapt herself gracefully to it. This means the immediate recognition of India's right to self-determination on the basis of complete freedom, and the drawing up of India's constitution by a Constituent Assembly consisting of her elected representatives. Such a decision and immediate steps taken to implement it, would immediately bring about a psychological change, and the old atmosphere of conflict and hostility would give place to a spirit of co-operation. India, achieving her independence in this way would not look unfavourably to certain privileges in the matter of trade and commerce being granted to Britain. She might even accept certain financial burdens which in justice should not fall on her. We would be willing to pay this price for freedom with pleasure, for the cost of conflict will in any event be much greater. India would also be a friend and colleague in world affairs, provided Britain stood for freedom and democracy.

The other course is to keep India in subjection and attempt to impose vital decisions on her. This would inevitably lead to a major conflict with Indian nationalism. It might delay Indian freedom for a while, but certainly it would not delay it for very long ; and it is possible that the conflict itself might precipitate matters. It was no easy matter for the British Government to suppress the last civil disobedience movement. To-day the Congress and the National Movement are far stronger than they have ever been, and Britain, on the other hand, thanks to Mr. Chamberlain's policy, is dangerously near to impatience in foreign affairs. That does not mean that Britain cannot strike hard at India. She can certainly do so, but it will be a very difficult task to undertake, and if international crisis intervenes as it might, it will be a perilous one. It is not surprising therefore, that the British Government have no desire whatever to

force a conflict in India. They would welcome a settlement with the National Congress. This, if it is genuinely attempted, and is to be successful, means facing all the implications of the first two courses outlined above. The British Imperialism by its very nature is unable to do this. The British Government will, therefore, at all costs, avoid the first course.

That is the dilemma and there is no middle course except one of marking time. But time runs fast in this age of dictators, and events follow one another with a startling rapidity. At any moment the edifice of " appeasement " which Mr. Chamberlain has built up so laboriously even at the cost of what nations and individuals hold most dear, might collapse and bring catastrophe. What of India then ? What will India do ? That is the question that often worries British statesmen. For it will matter a great deal what India does. India will make a difference.

IV

The Indian Army

Regarding the Indian Army he said : "It is a very fine fighting force ; wherever it had a chance it has done exceedingly well, but I am convinced in my mind that it would have done infinitely better if it had been given national colouring. National sentiment is bound to have influence."

Pandit Nehru said that during the Cripps discussions he asked Sir Stafford Cripps "If we are in charge of Government, our first job is to infuse national spirit in the Army and make the soldiers feel they are a National Army and make India feel that this is our Army fighting for freedom and democracy and the freedom of our country."

Pandit Nahru had also told Sir Stafford that their first job would be to remove the barriers that isolated the people from the Indian soldier. And Sir Stafford replied : " I am afraid that cannot be done. It is not a National Army. It is not an Indian Army, it is an Indian Sector of the British Army because the Indian Army is an Indian branch of the British Army."

Pandit Nehru said that he asked Sir Stafford : "What about an Indian militia ? " And Sir Stafford had replied that that was a matter for the Commander-in-Chief. Even the militia have to function under the Commander-in-Chief. Pandit Nehru said that when they use the word mercenary, it was not used in a disparaging sense of the Army itself, but as a legal technical name.

Referring to the demobilisation, Pandit Nehru said that it would be a tremendous problem. He thought that "in spite of all

the schemes of British Government, the British Government and the Provincial Governments as they are, cannot deal with the problem of demobilised soldiers.

They are incapable of dealing with it. At the end of this war, the numbers involved would be far more than at the end of the last war. "Pandit Nehru thought that the Indian soldier was a nationalist."

V

Indian National Army

[*Pandit Nehru has supported the cause of the officers and soldiers of the Indian National Army. He has called them patriots, although misguided, and they have fought the British Army with nationatistic intentions. The following is the press report of his two interviews which he granted to the Associated Press of India at Srinagar and New Delhi on August 19, and August 28, 1945 respectively.*]

"There is one matter which has been paining and troubling me for sometime, but to which I have made no reference so far, because any mention of it might have been misunderstood. But now that the war has ended, there is no such reason for remaining silent on that issue. This concerns the 20,000 or more prisoners of the so-called Indian National Army, which had been formed in Malaya and Burma, I was of the opinion three years ago and am still of the opinion that the leaders and others of this army had been misguided in many ways and had failed to appreciate the larger consequences of their unfortunate association with the Japanese.

Three years ago I was asked in Calcutta what I would do if Subhas Bose led an army into India on the plea of liberating India. I replied then that I would not hesitate to resist this invasion even though I did not doubt that Subhas Bose and his Indian colleagues and followers were motivated by the desire to free India and were in no way mere tools of the Japanese. Nevertheless, they had put themselves on the wrong side and were functioning under the Japanese auspices. No person could come to India in this way or under such foreign auspices.

Therefore, whatever the motive behind the people, they had to be resisted in India or outside.

But the situation has completely changed with the end of war. And a very large number of officers and soldiers of this Indian National Army, as it is called, are prisoners, and some of them at least have been executed.

Though proper information is lacking, it is reliably stated that very bad treatment is being given to them in prisons and forts, where they are kept and many of them live in the shadow of death. I do not wish to complain to the British for the strict military rule. They could plead justification for treating with rebels in any way they like. But as an Indian and as one representing in this respect

the views of almost all Indians of whatever party or group. I would say that it would be supreme tragedy if these officers and men are liquidated by way of punishment.

Whatever their feeling and mistakes may have been in the past, and these were serious, there can be no doubt that they are a fine body of young men, taken as a whole, fine officers and fine rank and file and that their dominating motive was love for India's freedom. At any time, it would have been wrong to treat them too harshly, but at this time, when it is said that big changes are impending in India, it would be a very grave mistake, leading to far-reaching consequences, if they were treated just as ordinary rebels, the punishment given to them would in effect be a punishment on all India and all Indians and a deep wound would be created in millions of hearts. In this matter, fortunately there is no communal question, for these officers and men are Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs.

From such accounts as have come to me, it appears probable that this Indian National Army first took shape when Singapore was almost surrounded by the Japanese and most of the British army left by boats. The Indian Army in Malaya was, therefore, left stranded by the fortunes of war and was completely at the mercy of the Japanese.

At that time a junior officer of the British Indian Army Sardar Mohan Singh, apparently got into touch with the Japanese Command and organised the remnants of the Indian troops there, which amounted to nearly 7,000. Although Mohan Singh, to some extent, co-operated with the Japanese, they resisted their encroachments in many ways and refused to be a tool in their hands. After many months, matters came to a crisis and Mohan Singh, who had proved a very efficient and brave organiser, was arrested by the Japanese and disappeared completely. Probably, he was executed by the Japanese. (Now he has reached India safe and sound.)

This in itself shows the curious and anomalous position of this Indian National Army and how its leaders were continually trying to prevent the exploitation of their men for Japanese imperialist purposes. How far they succeeded in this I do not know. But the motive underlying their action comes out clearly and it is important.

In view of all this, I earnestly trust that nothing will be done in regard to these prisoners of war which will lead to an additional festering sore in India's mind and heart. With the end of war, the immediate exigency past, larger considerations should prevail.

Commenting on the Government of India's communique on the treatment to be accorded to the Indian National army, Pandit Nehru, in an interview said : "I am glad that the Government of India

have issued a communique in regard to the prisoners of the Indian National Army formed in Malaya in 1942. The veil at last has been lifted, but facts are still hidden. I would suggest that those facts, or many of them, should be released to the public. What is the total number of officers and prisoners of this army in the various forts, camps and prisons of India ?

"What action has already been taken in regard to any of them ? What were the original circumstances which led to the formation of this army in Malaya, for instance ?

"It has been stated, with what authority I do not know, that they were left there to shift for themselves. Many points of constitutional law arise and these should be considered carefully by competent experts of those laws. It may be maintained that any such Army, formed in the circumstances then existing and recognised by a foreign power as an independent army, gains status of a combatant force and its prisoners should be treated as ordinary prisoners of war. I am not expert enough in constitutional law to give an opinion, but I am sure this matter is worthy of earnest consideration.

"The main point, however, is not one of law. It depends on the approach to the question. Is it a completely English and non-Indian approach, or is it an Indian approach ? I can understand and appreciate the English approach, but I can also understand and not only appreciate but deeply feel the Indian approach, which, I think, must be common not only in the civilian population of India but also in the British Indian Army.

"The war is over happily for all of us and problems must be viewed in terms of peace and not of war. Political consequences of any act of severe punishment must be taken into consideration and there is no doubt that such political consequences might be deep and far-reaching. In this connection a possible comparison common though not wholly apposite, is that of the Marquis in France. When the German army wanted to deal with the Marquis as rebels of the Petain Government, General Eisenhower very rightly issued a stern warning to them and told them that the Marquis must be treated as combatant forces and allowed the privileges of prisoners of war.

"There can be no doubt that this Indian National Army functioned as regular, organised, disciplined and uniformed combatant force. There can be no mistake in this. It was unfortunate that many of them were misguided enough to support a wrong cause, but it should never be forgotten that they had no desire or intention of supporting that cause as such, but were moved by their passion for India's freedom. I have no doubt in my mind that vast majority of the Indian men and officers of the British Indian Army will appreciate generous treatment to their old comrades in arms."

SEVENTH SECTION

Second World War

When the Second World War broke out, the Indian National Congress hotly debated the war aims of Britain. The Viceroy declared war on behalf of India without consulting its representatives. It was warmly resented by the patriots. Jawaharlal Nehru gave expression to some of the finest sentiments in his whirlwind tours. This section includes thirty speeches of Pandit Nehru, a magnificent record of the early days of the Second World war.

I

Not Out To Bargain

(September 9, 1939)

" We have repeatedly stated that we are not out to bargain. We do not approach the problem with a view to taking advantage of Britain's difficulties " said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in an interview with the Associated Press.

" This war is going to change the face of things. The old order is dead and cannot be revived. If we are making for a new order, let us do so consciously, defining it clearly and acting it from now onwards. It is perfectly true that in a conflict between Democracy and freedom on the one side and Fascism and aggression on the other, our sympathies must inevitably lie on the side of Democracy and we cannot tolerate with pleasure ideas of victory for the Fascist and Imperialist aggressors. But mere repetition of phrases about Democracy and freedom does not mean that the struggle is for Democracy. The last war showed that and the past year or more demonstrated still more how Democracy can be betrayed in the name of peace and freedom.

The real test as to whether this struggle is for Democracy and freedom does not lie in loud enunciations of principles, but in practice. If England stands for self-determination, the proof of that should be India. The Proposed Federation, again, is a complete denial for both. I realise fully that this war is going to change the face of things utterly in England and the World, both politically and economically. The old order is dead and it cannot be revived. If we are making for a new order, let us all do so consciously, defining it clearly and acting up to it from now onwards as far as possible. That new order can have nothing to do with Fascism or imperialism. I should like India to play her full part and throw all her resources into the struggle for the new order. I hope that my country will look at this problem not from a narrow national view but from the widest international view-point and seek to foster further good of the world because our own good is involved in it. I hope that all of you will be wise enough and strong enough to forget petty conflicts and rise to the height of the occasion, thinking only of the freedom of India and evolution of a new world."

" At this stage it is right and proper for nationalist India to speak with one voice and in a united way. All of us must sink individual preferences and our desires to express our own private views before useful consultations have taken place and our final policy is decided upon. I earnestly hope the Congress will act worthily at this hour of great crisis, thus, advancing the cause of India's freedom as well as the freedom of the world."

REFERRING TO HIS VISIT TO CHINA

This visit of mine has been very worth while even though it was taken at a very in opportune moment. I was astonished and gratified at the desire of the Chinese people and their leader for a close and friendly relation with the people of India. I bring innumerable messages of greetings and good wishes from the leaders of China and India. I have been charged by the Chinese Generalissimo to convey his greetings and good wishes to Gandhiji and Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. I have had an adventurous journey back from China by plane, water and rail. I would have been held up in China but for the courtesy of the Chinese Government who put a plane at my disposal. I saw numerous air raids in China but I have not seen a single person getting excited."

Asked if Panditji was looking up to Gandhiji for a lead as to what India should do at this hour, he said that Gandhiji had not yet given any lead and had only, in the course of a statement, reiterated his faith in non-violence."

Pandit Nehru has issued the following message to Congressmen and Congress Committees in the United Provinces.

" I hastened back from Far China to be with you in this time of trial and to share with you the burdens and responsibilities of the

hour. We shall shoulder them together as we have done in the past not in a spirit of opportunism but with faith in our cause and holding to the ideals that guided us throughout these years. The future may be more difficult than the past. We have to face it with courage, confidence and play our part in shaping a free world and a free India to-day. The Working Committee has given a lead not only to India but also to other peoples in the world. We must abide by this lead in letter and spirit and not say or do anything which goes counter to it.

Discipline is always necessary in a fighting organisation such as ours. To-day it is of paramount importance and it is folly for individual Congressmen to break this discipline and go along their individual paths. It is expected, therefore, that all Congress Committees and Congressmen will abide by this discipline of the Congress and act within its direction. Our immediate duty is to put our organisation in district, city, town and mandal in a proper trim for disciplined action whenever this is required of us. We must forget election contests and concentrate on organisation. It is possible that as events develop, normal election procedure may become difficult. Elections have little importance for us when crises confront us. Some Congressmen in the province have been using loose and undignified language not in keeping with the Congress policy or tradition. I trust this will stop.

The Congress is great and powerful because it received the confidence and affection of our people. It does not speak in tones of helpless anger but with dignity which is a true measure of strength. It speaks as a free nation should speak. So also must we, who are of the Congress, speak and act as if we discharge worthily the responsibility that is ours.

II

Unite At This Crucial Hour

(September 29, 1939)

Addressing University students Pandit Nehru spoke on the growth of Marxism and Leninism. They were both, observed Pandit Nehru, economic theories expounding the cause of man's poverty and the ways of terminating it. Indians, however, looked at these theories passionately and emotionally, and not scientifically which was the proper way. The result was that although they might be socialists theoretically, they were not so in practice.

Referring to India Pandit Nehru asked the masses to unite at this crucial hour and view things from the nationalist point of view. It was difficult to fight with disunity amidst their ranks and they would be doing great injury to the national cause " If we do not unite", said Pandit Nehru " there is a great chance of reac-

tionary elements gaining strength and repeating the process of Fascism to some extent in India. " Pandit Nehru also refused to enter into discussion about Russia's entry into the war and said that it was very difficult to say whether it was Britain or Germany that would benefit by it. It was nevertheless a thing which ought to make the Indians think.

Pandit Nehru asserted that Gandhiji's technique of Ahimsa (non-violence) wat not only perfect for a country like India, but it had a scientific basis also. He dwelt on the relative importance of violence and non-violence and said that in the present world the risks of violence were gradually being realised in other countries also.

Referring to the Congress attitude towards the present war in Europe, Panditji said that only a free India could co-operate and Indians should be made to feel by Britain that Indians also were fighting for a popular cause. The Congress had made it clear that it was opposed to both Fascism and Imperialism.

Referring to the international situation, Pandit Nehru felt that Hitler could not help Nazi Germany as socialism and Nazism were fundamentally opposed to each other.

Panditji observed that ultimately the attitude of Russia and America towards the war would prove decisive factors. He incidentally referred as to how Hitler thought contemptuously about India and Indians.

Pandit Nehru described how the Defence of India Act and other Ordinances had placed the Congress Ministries in an awkward position. Concluding, he made a strong plea for unity at the present critical juncture.

ON INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

" If Lord Zetland's speech represented the mind of the English people or the Government he had no hesitation in saying that there could be no compromise between the Congress and the British Government now or a thousand years hence," said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru while addressing the University Union. This statement of Pandit Nehru was greeted by prolonged applause by the students. Pandit Nehru complained bitterly against the " undignified method" of Lord Zetland's reply to the Congress demand. Pandit Nehru, however, doubted whether Lord Zetland's speech represented the true working of the minds of Englishmen. Pandit Nehru said that he, as a member of the Working Committee, was bound by the discipline of the organisation and so he did not want to say anything which might embarrass the Working Committee in arriving at a decision.

Pandit Nehru, relating his own experience, of the working of Englishmen's minds, said that he had noticed, while in England, that Englishmen viewed with horror the recent drift of events and they tried to look at things from a new angle ; there had been a mental

revolution in their vision. There appeared to him the same difference between the present mental outlook of the English people in general and that of Lord Zetland's. His Lordship still appeared to be too much under the influence of " old education." His mind had not been affected by the currents of modern thought and aspiration. Pandit Nehru said that Lord Zetland had not profitted by or learnt anything from the events during the past twenty years. Pandit Nehru characterised the manner of Lord Zetland's reply as low or undignified which no self-respecting nation could tolerate. Referring to War, Pandit Nehru said that there would be some meaning in this war only when it brought real freedom for the people of the world, otherwise, he did not see why crores of people should be killed in this war. The situation was not free from anxiety for India. **In Pandit Nehru's opinion, Russia had taken its revenge against both England and Germany. It was already dominating over Germany. It was not Fuehrar who was issuing orders to foreign diplomats and ministers to-day but Russia, as exemplified in the visit of Herr Von. Ribbontrop to Moscow.** Pandit Nehru, however, did not like the secret method by which Stalin as a dictator had acted committing Russia to a particular course. Pandit Nehru said that he never approved the idea of a dictator in any country. It was extremely undesirable that one man in any country should be in the position of a dictator and commit the entire nation to a particular decision. He would oppose such dictatorship even in India. He wanted that everything should be done by the majority opinion of a nation which should be correctly focussed. Pandit Nehru opined that Hitler could not win. Russian strategy had made it extremely difficult for Herr Hitler to carry the war to a successful conclusion. Pandit Nehru devoted a large slice of his lecture in giving an account of his experiences in China. It looked impossible to him that a nation possessing such vitality as China could be suppressed by Japan. Pandit Nehru ridiculed the plans of " showy military training " being carried out in India. If India were to war, its defences should be made strong. India needed 50,000 officers. India must have national outlook. It was mercenary. In conclusion Pandit Nehru paid a glowing tribute to Gandhiji's leadership and asked the people to observe the Gandhi Week in a fitting manner. Pandit Nehru drew pointed attention to the past. Women were playing in China and praised Madame Chiang Kai Shek for her courage.

III

Visit to China

(October 1, 1939)

" On my way to China, I started noting down events and impressions at the end of each day," observed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, releasing for publication his diary during recent visit to China. He proceeds : " often in the past I have made the noble resolve of keeping a diary. Like many other good intentions, this

resolve faded away soon enough. This time I thought it would be worth while to get down these impressions, while they were fresh and to share them with friends and colleagues in India. I have now got two lots of notes written on August 23 and August 24 at Chungking. Those have not been published so far and are somewhat out of date. Still, as they might interest some people, I am sending them for publication."

Kumming has a delightful cool climate and the change from the heat of Hanoi was very pleasant and agreeable. At night it was quite chilly. Perhaps this was due to nearness of the lake which I discovered in the morning, came right up to the back window of my room. Our hotel was named the Grand Hotel du Laç. Early in the morning a shrill voice reached me from the courtyard. This belonged to the French managress, who was superintending the cleaning and sweeping and giving her opinion of the inefficiency of the Chinese boys in voluble and aggressive French. Other voices floated in the chanting cries of the news boys. After breakfast we went for a drive to the great lake nearby and saw groups of young soldiers, who were marked by singing. Some of these soldiers or recruits seemed to be more than 15 years old, but it is difficult for an outsider to guess the age of the Chinese.

Long before 10 we were at the aerodrome, where all was bustle. A member of the Provincial Government was also travelling by that plane and a crowd of functionaries had gathered to see him off. We started at 10-15 in a machine of the Burasia Corporation. The plane was crowded and there was little space. All blinds were drawn. After a few minutes' flight we were allowed to look out. Evidently it was the aerodrome itself and what it contained that was not meant for the public. In the course of the flight, I received the following message by wireless. "Dr. Chu Chi Mwa, Secretary-General of the Central Kuomintang, head of various organisations sends you herewith greetings and welcome from the aerodrome. It took just over three hours to reach Chungking the Yangsug lines appeared winding in between the hills and the precipitious banks. There seemed to be no level bit of ground visible and I wondered how an aerodrome could have been made in that uneven country. The explanation was interesting and for me, unique. The plane landed on a sand bank in the middle of the river. Many eminent persons had gathered there, headed by some high officers of the army and Dr. Chu, who had sent me the wireless message. As I descended the pleasant and familiar sound of Bandematarum greeted my ears and looking up in surprise, I saw an Indian in uniform. He was Dhiresh Mukerjee of our Congress Medical Unit. There was a brief speech of welcome and the presentation of bouquets and then we passed along a line of girls and boys in some kind of uniform, who greeted me with a rythmic waving of flags. Then to a boat to cross the river. On the other side a long flight of steps stretched out before use and I was asked to get into a of kind Sedan chain of (Chowtse, it was called) to be carried up. I laughed at this idea of going to be carried up in this

way and started mounting the steps with a great show of energy. Soon I discovered that the task was not such an easy one ; There was about 325 big steps and I began to pant and grow tired. **I impressed the others no doubt with my vitality but I realised suddenly that I was no longer young enough to indulge in these bright days. We took a car then to the Foreign Office Guest House were I had been put up. There again we had to mount about a hundred steps. Chungking is spread on hill sides and hill tops and little of the going is on the level.** Many leading officials and others came to see me and I saw the provincial pragramme that had been drawn up for me for the next week in Chungking. The first item was a meeting at 4 the same afternoon where an impressive array of 193 organisations were offering me welcome. To this meeting we went. Mr. Wu Chihhui, an older statesman, spoke words of welcome and I replied. There were the national slogans and obedience before a picture of Sun Yet Sen and the band playing the Chinese national Authem, which was impressive. I discovered in the course of this meeting that whenever the name of Generalismo was mentioned the audience stood up in respect. If a meeting is not to be interrupted by this standing up it is better to refer to the Generalismo as the leader or by some other title and to avoid the name. Soon after the meeting I was to have a dinner given by a number of organisations. But word came privately that an air raid was expected and the prospect of this dinner faded out. We hurried back to our house and found the streets already full of people all going in one direction. The official warning signel had not been sounded yet, but information had been given and men and women were hurrying to the dug-outs for shelter. Changking has one advantage, information of approaching enemy planes comes to it early quite an hour before the planes arrive.

IV

Forget Controversies

(October 10, 1939)

Addressing the All-India Congress Committee for nearly one hour Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru appealed to the members to forget the arguments and controversies through which they had gone those last two days when they went out of the House they must be prepared for whatever comes and pull their weight together. He emphasised that they must all get hold of the fact that they are now passing into a new stage in political evolution, but while they might not be able to influence the word changes, they could certainly influence what concerned them. Big chances were bound to come as a result of the war and a new era would dawn. If they grasped this essential fact they would forget the arguments and controversies of the last two days. The evolution of the Working Committee left

only two alternatives before them. One was that they might reach an agreement with the British Government, which would satisfy them, or the other alternative was conflict. There could be no neutral stand for India and her stand would have to be taken, immediately there was a response from the British Government. Personally he was extremely satisfied that these were the alternatives before them as in his opinion either way it would ultimately work out to the good of Country.

V

The War Crisis

(*October 9, 1939*)

Speech in moving the war crisis revolution :—

During the last few years the Congress has passed a number of resolutions on war. It is said that these resolutions can have but one meaning and that is to declare ourselves against war but that is not the only policy that follows from the resolution. The statement of the Working Committee is not inconsistent with any of the principles laid down in these resolutions. It is for us to consider whether it is worth while to choose a certain course which obviously has made difficulties and an alternative to such course such as functioning on agitational plans and perhaps preventing our taking a share in the international plane. We must have strength to face difficulties and overcome them in any course we may adopt. The statement of Working Committee has taken note of possible difficulties in declaring upon a course which, I think, is farseeing and right in the circumstances. There is neither the question of co-operation nor bargaining and the attitude we have taken is in consonance with our due share in world affair. Pandit Nehru next referred to the War news published from day to day and warned the people against being led away by false tears bogeys or to forget their own national objectives. Pandit Jawaharlal declared that if the resolution before the house was carried it would mean only one thing ; namely, shaking to the foundation all imperialism.

VI

Appeal for Unity

(*October 11, 1939*)

"Only a free India can decide whether we can participate in the war not. We want a declaration whether the principles of democracy, liberty and self-determination for which the war is claimed to be fought will be applicable to India also. He pointed out how a disturbance of the balance of power in Europe affected India. The statement of the Congress Working Committee and the recent resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. gave the British Government opportunity to clarify their war and peace aims. They were not satisfied, said Pandit Nehru, with an assurance about the

principles; they required application of these principles to India. Pundit Nehru referred to the offers of help in men and material made by rulers of states in India, and said that no rulers of state under the pretext of war, were suppressing civil liberties in the State. Pandit Nehru appealed to the people to compose their differences and present a United front in their march forward.

VII

We Wanted No Unity Of Slaves

(October 18, 1939)

Pandit Jawaharlal's speech after Viceroy's declaration—

"The Viceroy has told us to think of the unity of India. His reminder is unnecessary. But even unity of India cannot be purchased at the cost of India's freedom. We want no union of slaves in bondage. We want a united India but a free India and we have no shadow of doubt that we shall get what we want. Meanwhile we may have to go into wilderness again as we have so often done in the past. If fates so will it, we shall do so gladly, rejoicing that, yet again we have been previleged to serve the cause that is dearer to us than anything else. And in doing so we help in the building of a new world order for which millions crave an order of peace and freedom from which Fascism and Imperialism have been eliminated and days of war and violence are no more." Thus ends the leader of the National Herald this morning commenting on the Viceroy's state ment. Those words summarised the attitude which the Congress High Command which was shortly meeting might adopt towards this very disappointing statement. The article is from the pen of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, who wrote it in the early hours of the morning. The article continues: "We know beyond pre-adventure that Britain clings to her Imperialism and fights to preserve the same howsoever her statesmen may cover this ancient habit of thesis with soft and pleasing words. The aims and objects of this terrible war are clear at last. Let no man doubt them. This is not a matter for Congressmen only but for all of us whether Muslim Leaguers, Hindu Mahasabhaites, Sikh Leaguers or any other organisation. For India's honour and India's freedom are involved and nothing else can count when these supremely vital issues are at stake." The article continues: "The world of yesterday is dead; the world of to-day is dying. Not all the king's horse, not all the king's men will be able to keep it alive. Every man and woman of intelligence has a realisation of the profound changes that are taking place in the era of war and revolutions. But not so the British government and not so the government of India. They live in Whitehall and New Delhi apart from the humbler, though perhaps the more intelligent, folk and they neither see nor remember. In 1939 they remind us

of the preamble of the Act of 1919. We remember that India indignantly rejected that even in 1919 and three times since then we have faced the might of the British Empire. This preamble is again fished out and presented to us by the Viceroy as a gift worthy of England fighting for democracy and worthy of India insistent on independence. There is no one in the world now who will be deceived by British professions of a war for democracy and freedom."

VIII

Pristine Autocracy

(*October 17, 1939*)

Pandit Nehru enroute to Lucknow gave the following message to the Mysore Government through a representative of the Mysore Congress :—

"It is curious that when everyone is talking about war for democracy and freedom and condemning Nazi aggression, the Indian state system should continue in all its pristine autocracy and attempts to alter and make it responsive to popular will should be suppressed. The writing on the well is clear but there are people who still refuse to see it as Mahatma Gandhi has said, petty Hitlers continue to function in many states. Of Mysore much was expected, for industrially and otherwise it is somewhat more advanced than others states. And it is ripe for the introduction of responsible government. But autocracy is still entrenched there and popular demands are spurned and promises made to the people have not been kept. I had hoped that wisdom would come to those who control the state Government and they would realise that the time has gone by when they can check the torrent of change. But I have been mistaken and am distressed. And so the conflict has begun again there between the people and those who seek to prevent change and retain autocracy. That conflict can have only one outcome here as elsewhere. The world is in the throes of vast revolutionary changes and Indian states cannot escape them. Already I am told that 1, 200 representatives of the Mysore Congress have been arrested and sentenced. Many of the leaders are in prison. Let this not dishearten anyone for nations are only made by testing and trial. I hope that the people of Mysore will hold fast to their ideal and be scrupulous about their means so that nothing may be done which discredits cause. I wish them all success.

IX

The Hand Of Friendship

(*October 18, 1939*)

All this seem to follow from the Viceroy's statament and if this is the aim of war, it is difficult to imagine that even the British Government, living as it does in an age that is past and done with, can expect any self-respecting Indian to co-operate with

it. The hand of friendship that the Congress had extended has been spurned by the British Government. What our next step should be, it would be premature and improper for us to say at this state. That is for the Working Committee to decide and the committee is meeting for that purpose soon. The hour is a grave one and requires all our united wisdom courage, discipline and mutual forbearance. Let us bear ourselves with dignity and restraint and hold together in the case of India's freedom.

X

The Communal Question

(October 25, 1939)

Pandit Nehru explains the Congress view-point regarding the minorities with particular reference to the Muslim and reiterated the Congress stand, namely, of safeguarding the interests of minorities.

Pandit Nehru in answer to the question said that the Congress recognises the importance of the communal issue in India, but the way it is being pushed forward is as has been said by the Congress Working Committee, a screen to avoid difficult questions. The Congress is perfectly prepared and willing to face the question in all its aspects, bus the approach of the British Government to this question is to make the communal issue an excuse for avoiding capital progress. It is said, continued Pandit Nehru, that the Congress does not represent the whole of India. Of course not. It does not represent those who are opposed to it. But what has been said, in regard to the Congress is that it tries and claims to speak for India as a whole which is a different matter. That is to say what it demands if not for any particular group or community but for the nation as a whole. It is inconceivable to me how any Indian can take exception to this demand, although it is open to people to say that within the framework of that Indian demand special interests like those of the minorities should be protected. The Congress demand is based on democracy as it aims at the establishment of a democratic state in India. Democracy does not certainly exclude full protection of minority rights and interests. But it becomes an absurdity, if on the plea of minority rights democracy itself is abandoned. Questioned further Pt. Jawahar Lal said : "The alternatives to democracy in India are Fascism, Sovietism or India's continued subjection to foreign rule. I cannot think of any other way out. I take it that we are all agreed that we do not want Fascism in India, certainly we do not rule in India. So the only alternative left is the Soviet form of Government which may not approach democracy. Recently the democratic ideal has been criticised by various people in India. I do not know if they have thought of the inevitabel

consequences of giving up that ideal. I cannot conceive of any objective other than democracy in the present state of India. With proper protection and safeguards for the minorities, this will be the relief for everyone concerned. Of course the majority will remain a majority, as nothing can convert a majority into a minority except a rule by a Fascist or military clique. So far as the Muslims are concerned, it is a little misleading to talk in terms of majorities and minorities. A religious group seventy million strong cannot be considered a minority. As they are spread out in India in certain provinces they are in a majority and in such provinces the minority issue is entirely different from the rest of India. It is quite inconceivable to me that in these circumstances either the Hindus can tyrannise over the Muslims or the Muslims tyrannise over the Hindus. I would add, or both the Hindus and Muslims together tyrannise over anybody else as religious groups. The Sikhs are very small in number but I do not think there is the slightest chance of their being tyrannised over by anybody. It is unfortunate that this communal question has taken this new shape and is being used as a barrier to India's freedom. Nothing has surprised me and pained me so much during the last year or two, as the amazing charges brought against the Congress and Congress Governments as suppressing Muslims and committing atrocities against them. The Congress Governments have made many mistakes as was natural, in regard to various departments of Government, but I am personally quite convinced that in regard to the treatment of minorities, they have taken the greatest care possible not to offend against any minority rights or privileges. We have so often asked for an impartial enquiry into the vague charges brought forward and our offer still remains unaccepted and, yet totally unfounded statements continue to be made. So far as the Congress is concerned, it is prepared to-day as it has always been prepared—to consider the communal or minority question in all its bearings, so as to put an end to all misapprehensions and arrive at a satisfactory settlement. But the Congress cannot consider any proposal which goes against India's unity and freedom and which is opposed to all democratic ideals. In answer to a further question Pandit Nehru said : **"Our fight is against British Imperialism. We do not propose to fight any countryman of ours or any organisation of Indians, if any Indian or any organisation in India allies itself with British Imperialism but I am sure India will survive such a misfortune.** Pandit Nehru continuing said : "One of the great advantages of a crisis like the present one is that it forces people and organisations to show up their real cards. It becomes impossible then to play with vague phrases and indulge in brave talks because such talks have then to be followed by action. So in the present instance this crisis will result in removing this fog from Indian politics which has confused the issue for so long and the public will understand what

the real objects of individuals and organisations are—Pandit Nehru speaking on the future of the Congress said : "It is obviously difficult for me to discuss the future. It depends on various factors. The resignation of the Ministries is itself a tremendous step. It need not have been a tremendous step but in the particular context in which the decision is taken, it is a tremendous step, a big step towards non-co-operation with the whole apparatus of British Imperialism. Big consequences will follow from it and we want the country to be prepared for those consequences. When and what those consequences will be, it will not be proper for me to discuss at this stage. In the circumstances like the present a bald neutrality is an almost impossible proposition." Pandit Nehru, who is the chairman of the National Planning Committee, said that almost everything in India was bound to be affected by the various developments, he did not see any reason why the Planning Committee should continue to function. At the present moment there were many sub-committees of the Planning Committee that were working hard. That work would in any event be continued and it might be, a little more time should be given to those committees to do their work thoroughly. The National Planning Committee would then consider the various sub-committees' reports. He added that all manner of changes were likely to take place in the world and it was of paramount importance that India should have a scheme for the whole of India—whether the scheme was given effect to in its entirety or not. It seemed to him essential to carry on the work of the Planning Committee.

XI

Insincere Verbiage

(October 26, 1939)

The Viceroy's statement betrays the same old colour of British Imperialism, the same old sweetness without grace and the same old insincere verbiage. But let British imperialism remember that Congressmen also have their old methods, their old colours and their old temper and urge for irresistible action." Thus declared Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing a mammoth gathering in the Azad Maidan in the evening which was also addressed by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai who presided, Sardar Patel and Mr. Shankar Rao Dev. Pandit Jawaharlal continuing explained the European situation and its inevitable reaction in India. He added "If it becomes a question of choosing between complete destruction of our twenty years' work and immediately coming into conflict with British imperialism, we would prefer not to be led away by the fact that the Congress was pursuing parliamentary activities but to remember that it is essentially pledged to India's independence and would take steps to win it.

XII

Demand For Freedom

(November 4, 1939)

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing a largely attended public meeting in the evening explained the objectives and results of the last three days' Delhi talks and touched on the future. He said that the Congress, right from the time when it counted its membership in tens to the present time when hundreds of thousands were its supporters had always made demands for the whole country and not for one section or the other. Its demand that the future constitution of the country should be framed by a constituent assembly was also made for the whole country. He made bold to say that no one who stood for the freedom of the country could have any objection to the demand. The recent Working Committee resolution on war had been greeted in many subject countries as a charter of independence. His talks with Mr. Jinnah, he went on, had hitherto been concerned with the constitutional and political issues, but the Congress and Muslim League had found their differences irremovable and therefore they had to send two septics intead of one to the Viceroy. As far the communal talks he said, they would be continued shortly and he hoped that would bring happy results. But he declared the communal issue was a domestic issue of their own. It had nothing to do with their demand for a constituent assembly. In any event he asserted, it was absurd to ask the Indian people first to settle their differences, particularly differences with European vested interests and the Princes. Both of these he said were creatures of the British Government and depended on it, for their preservation intact. How was a settlement possible with creatures of a system when that settlement was likely to result in the destruction of that settlement? Referring to the future, the Pandit said the situation in India and abroad was apt to change with incredible rapidity and we Indians should be prepared for such a change. We must be prepared for suffering but must unite and overcome weakness. Mass civil desobedience might become necessary but should not be started lightly.

XIII

No Fresh Development

(November 17, 1939)

In the course of a special interview with the *Tribune* correspondent, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru in the evening revealed the fact that there had been no fresh development up till then after the recent discussion between Viceroy and the Congress leaders. Questioned, however, whether his plan to see Mr. Jinnah again still stood, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru replied in the affirmative. In answer to another question, he said it was difficult to forecast at present what line of

action the Working Committee's meeting at Allahabad would adopt. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in reply to a query whether there was a move to the effect that the Working Committe at Allahabad would authorise him on behalf of the Congress to re-open negotiations with Mr. Jinnah, said that no such " formal " authorisation was necessary. When asked whether the Congress would launch a fight or would mark time, Pt. Nehru said that it depends on many things, including the international situation. Pt. Jawaharlal passed the question as to what will be the main subject of discussion at the Working Committee meeting by saying " the present situation." Asked whether he would give some indication of the agenda of the Working Committee meeting, Pt. Nehru said : " These are kept secret." Pt. Nehru had been slightly unwell. All preparations for laying the foundation stone of the Kamla Memorial Hospital were complete then. Pt. Nehru was personally supervising all arrangements and visited the site that day. The ceremony promises to be one of the most imposing Allahabad has witnessed for years. The whole of Allahabad is preparing to pay homage to the memory of the deceased patriot.

XIV

No Prospect For Settlement

(*November 28, 1939*)

Pt. Nehru's speech at the U. P. Political Conference :—

" As things stand at present I do not see any prospect of a Settlement between the Congress and the British Government. A Settlement is only possible if the Congress demand is accepted," declared Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru this afternoon in the course of his presidential address at the U. P.

Political Conference. Pandit Nehru spoke for 90 minutes and received a great ovation when he rose to address the conference. Referring to the events during the last two and a half months in Europe, he said that these developments had enabled them in India, particularly Congressmen, to sink their differences.

—*Nov. 28, 1939.*

Over 3,000 people attended the 32nd open session of the U. P. Political Conferences that afternoon. Enthusiastic scenes were witnessed in Mahendrapartap Nagar when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other leaders arrived at the Pandal. The proceedings opened with the singing of Bande Matram.

Hakim Brijlal Varman, chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates said that socialism was the only cure for all their ills. **Pandit Nehru referred to the war in Europe and said that he was happy to state that its repercussions in India were most welcome as they had succeeded in composing their internal differences in Congress. Pandit Nehru emphasised that**

their demand for Swaraj was an old one and had nothing to do with the present war. He regretted to say the British Government's reply to their demand was most unsatisfactory and therefore the Congress Working Committee had no alternative but to call on the Congress Ministries to return. He reiterated the Congress demand for a constituent assembly to frame a suitable constitution for India and said that he saw no prospect of a settlement between the British government and India, so long as this main Congress demand was not accepted. He thought that those who opposed the Congress demand for a constituent assembly were the enemies of India's freedom. The communal problem, he said, was not a major issue and was capable of solution if India's right to be treated as a free country was conceded. He exhorted the gathering to follow the Congress constructive programme and take the Swedeshi and Khadi in particular. He asked the people to prepare themselves for the struggle ahead by implementing the Congress constructive programme and, thus make themselves sufficiently strong to compel the British Government to accept their demand for India's freedom.

Concluding Pandit Nehru remarked that they were in no hurry to launch a struggle and would not take offensive but at the same time, they should prepare themselves from now for future contingencies. After the presidential address, the conference unanimously passed four non-controversial resolutions and adjourned till to-morrow noon.

Pandit Nehru (President) before putting the resolution to vote said, Indian States to-day were a relic of the past. He thought that ultimate responsibility for repression in Orissa States (Rangpur) and Limbdi and other Kathiawar States lay on the British Government. Pandit Nehru indignantly remarked that conditions were really intolerable even in the so-called progressive states. He concluded by observing that no political advance was possible as long as the Indian States in their present form continued to exist. They must do away with these States if they were to advance further to their goal.

XV

Exploding the Myth Of I. C. S.

(December 3, 1939)

Important observations are made by Pandit Nehru at Motiganj (Agra) on his way back from the Muttra Political Conference. The meeting marked the beginning of his tour programme in the United Provinces.

In the course of his speech Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that he was not sorry for the experience of Ministerial office by the Congress. It had exploded the myth of the I. C. S. competence. This did not mean that they were no competent or expert men in the service. But on the whole it could not adapt itself to the new changes or

directions ; it put obstacles and showed deliberate disloyalty to the Congress Ministers ; it did not like the new life created in the country by the Congress working the constitution. There were instances showing that this service flouted the instructions issued by the Congress Ministers. It proved itself slow and could not execute with promptitude the orders issued by the Ministers. In a free India, said Pandit Nehru, such a service would be abolished. Referring to the political situation, Pandit Nehru said that though we were ready to negotiate and enter into a settlement with the Government, we could never return to old conditions. No purpose, he said, could be served by interviews and talks or statements unless the Government were prepared to accept the demand of Mahatma Gandhi. Referring to the war, Pandit Nehru said, that economic forces were at the bottom of this war map which would have to be changed. Pandit Nehru strongly supported Mahatma Gandhi's constructive programme. **" Things as they stand " he said, " do not point towards the settlement of the Indian question but it is probable that the gulf between the Congress and the Government might widen and a clash might not be averted. We have kept the door open and it is for the British Government to accept it or reject it."**

XVI

Getting Out Of Ruts

(December 10,1939)

Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru speaking on the present situation at a meeting held at the Purushottamdas Park at night made some very pungent remarks about the civil services. Pt. Nehru said he had never a very high opinion about the efficiency of Indian Civil services wherein he included the Police Service also. But even then the behaviour of these services, while Congress Ministers were in office surprised him. While in office, naturally they could not speak out the difficulties created by the I.C.S. at Agra. He had only hinted at the trouble but some day the whole story was bound to come out. He did not mean there were no able men in these services. There were undoubtedly some able men who probably tried to take account of changing conditions. But as a whole the service was still stuck up in old grooves. Their " ability " consisted in keeping up the old structure raised by the British Government. They had not proved very competent and efficient. Untill the services got out of old ruts they could not adapt themselves to changing conditions. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, continuing said : he did not make any difference in his condemnation between Indian and European elements in Indian Civil services. He thought Europeans were at least loyal to their own people (laughter and cheers). **Referring to the political situation, Pt. Nehru said the Indian Nation was not a nation of cowards. It was not dead. The struggle for freedom would continue. " We must strengthen the Congress. We need not**

blame Mahatma Gandhi." The Mahatma is not a magician, but in the past the country under his leadership had reached very near " magic." So we must follow him and be disciplined. Pt. Nehru referring to abuses hurled on the Congress in some quarters, said it was only weak people who abused others. The Congress was strong. It would maintain its dignity. It was not going to lose itself in a futile controversy. " The Congress is a dignified body. It feels a heavy responsibility that lies on its shoulders. So it is not going to be sidetracted by a heated controversy.

Pt. Nehru severely criticised the use of the amendment of Government of India Act in order to defeat the U. P. Employment Tax Bill. He asked why the bill was not referred to the Federal Court. Sitting in London, they had destroyed the bill. That showed realities of the situation. He pointed out how advisors to Governors received higher salaries now than what they got before. That was following the old traditions. But he had heard that salaries of peons and chaprasis were being reduced and peons were being dismissed by way of economy. It was a rotten world in India, remarked Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. In conclusion Pt. Nehru referred to resolutions passed at the Muttra Conference and said, " We have to make the country strong. There are people who are conspiring to break up the unity of the country by dubious means. We have to face them.

XVII

Constituent Assembly

(December 10, 1939)

A reiteration of the Congress demand for a Constituent Assembly as the only solution for the Indian problem was made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at a press conference in the evening on Lord Zetland's latest pronouncement on India. In the course of his talk Pandit Nehru also dealt with Mr. M. A. Jinnah's recent statement to investigate the charges against the various Congress Ministries. Pandit Nehru asserted that the Congress would not submit " to a foreign commission to judge our worthiness for Government." Referring to the Secretary of State's statement in the House of Lords Pandit Nehru said : " Lord Zetland occupies a high office, but many of his recent utterances can hardly be termed responsible or helpful. I have no desire to discuss his latest speech in any detail. He has raised some novel points and arguments and laid stress on the minorities question. All of us are obviously desirous of solving it to the satisfaction of various parties concerned. How is it to be solved within the context of democracy ? Obviously the fundamental principles governing any consideration of any aspect of the Indian problem are democracy and unity of India. The suggestion put forward by the Congress that all these matters should be decided by a constituent assembly meets in principle all the difficulties raised. This does not mean that all our problems are simple of solution or

that there will not be complications and difficulties to face. But it does offer not only a suitable method but the only way within the context of democracy. **The mass of people by adult suffrage elect their representatives, all the principal minorities are represented and have a voice in the shaping of India's future. In regard to their particular problems it may be said that a minority's rights might be overridden by a majority vote. That has been got over by a suggestion that such rights should be settled by agreements.** If there is no agreement about a specific issue, then the only proper course is to refer it to an independent arbitration such as the League of Nations or the International Court at the Hague. Pandit Nehru added: "Nothing could be fairer than this and no minority can possibly object to it. It avoids the possibility of the majority forcing its will on a minority in regard to the minorities' special rights and interests. It avoids also the absurdity of a minority imposing its will on a majority. The importance of the constituent assembly procedure is to get the real opinion of the masses; Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs etc. through their elected representatives. The question does not arise then as to whom the Congress represents or the Muslim League or any other party. If these organisations command the confidence of the people, their nominies will be elected to the constituent assembly. "I agree with Lord Zetland that it is a little absurd to consider the Muslims in India as a minority. Not only their great numbers but the fact that in large areas of the country they are in a majority makes it clear that no minority questions really arises. Ordinarily speaking, such numbers warrant no protection as they can well look after their own interests. As a matter of fact in predominantly Muslim areas like the Punjab, Bengal, Sind, the N. W. F. P. and Baluchistan, the minorities are non-Muslims and many of them have demanded protection. If India is looked at as a whole these various factors balance one another and prevent misbehaviour of any religious or racial group. Lord Zetland unfortunately still thinks in terms of a by gone age and has a semi-feudal outlook on life. He does not realise that new forces are convulsing India. Even among the Muslims the mass of the people are claiming their own rights from their upper class and sometimes their semi-feudal leaders. The problems of India are essentially economic though a continuous attempt is made and has again been made by Lord Zetland to make them appear to be racial and minority problems. Lord Zetland possibly still thinks of the Princes of India as the hereditary Rulers and of the Rajputs and other classes as the obvious military class. But things are very different in the India of to-day and all this attempt to hide the real issues cannot last long in this dynamic situation. I can well understand the opposition of the British government to the idea of constituent assembly because such an assembly necessarily puts an end to British Imperialism. **Between the position of Indian Nationalism and that of British Imperialism there is no common factor. If the British Government is unable to agree to India deter-**

mining her future, we are equally unable to agree to the British Government interfering in any way in such a decision. We agree to differ and the future will decide whose will prevails. But I cannot understand how in reason any individual or group in India, standing for Indian freedom, more specially standing for democracy in India, can oppose the constituent assembly conception. Are they afraid of going to the electorate? The only alternative to this is that they prefer British rule or interference of India. There is no other way of having a free constituent for India and every other method involves a measure of direction from abroad. The alternatives are, as previously stated, continuation of British domination and the development, sporadically or otherwise of Sovietism in India. I do not know how the mass of Indian people will decide in the particular matter, but I am prepared to leave it to them and take the risk. The days of small groups at the top deciding the fate of India cannot last.

Pandit Nehru then answered some questions on the subject of the talks which were to have taken place with Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the demand for a Royal Commission made by the League President. Pandit Nehru said: "In view of the circumstances created by Mr. Jinnah's call for the celebration of a day of 'deliverance' it became impossible for me to discuss anything in this background. This indicated such a vast difference of outlook and sense of values and objectives between us that any common approach to the problem seemed well-nigh impossible. Therefore, I regretfully had to give up the idea of meeting Mr. Jinnah on this occasion. This does not, of course, mean that we are not desirous of meeting him or others to discuss any problems, whenever a common approach seems possible. For our part, we are always willing to have frank discussions of all problems without any conditions whatever, provided there is no such background as has now been created. It is also obvious that any conditions, which go against the whole basic ideology of the Congress could not be the basis of discussion. The real difficulties seem to me to be a vital political difference, because we are dealing with political matters to-day *vis-a-vis* the British Government. The Congress outlook for the last twenty years has been governed by certain ideology, which must roughly be called Satyagraha. We have varied our activities from time to time, but the essential basis has always remained the fact and to-day in the face of a crisis, inevitably we revert to the more active forms of a Satyagraha such as non-co-operation. Other organisations possibly do not accept this political outlook and it is this political difference that counts and not the communal difference. "Mr. Jinnah's proposal about Royal Commission raises far-reaching questions. We have always been eager to have judicial or other enquiries made in regard to my allegations against the Congress Governments. In spite of our repeated arguments these instances have not been satisfactorily enumerated nor has our offer for enquiry been accepted. Apparently what Mr. Jinnah desires now is a Royal Commission, not to enquire into any offence but to sit in judgment the whole work of the Congress

Governments. This is an astonishingly retrograde idea and repugnant to everything that India's nationalism has stood for during the last many years. We have always demanded and endeavoured to frame our constitution without British interference, but we are now asked to submit to a free commission to judge our competence for government. Such idea indirectly puts an end to our demand for independence ; it directly postpones all other issues till such future time that the British Government may think it fit and proper to concede what we deserve at their gracious hands. I am astonished that Jinnah should not have realised the extraordinary and objectionable consequences of any procedure. It has nothing to do with an enquiry into all misdeeds which we would welcome. None of us have been enamoured of Royal Commission even for smaller purposes to preside over us. It outrages dignity of the Indian people and their will for freedom.

XVIII

The Politics Of Jinnah

(*December 14, 1939*)

The view that the communal problem in this country was not communal, in the accepted sense of the term, but purely political was expressed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who addressed a public meeting on the Chaupatty sands this evening. Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai presided.

Pandit Nehru gave a comprehensive review of the communal situation, as it had developed during the past two years, and declared that the three statements of Mr. Jinnah regarding the " deliverance day," the League's attitude towards constituent assembly and his latest pronouncement, in which a demand for a Royal Commission had been made, left him in no doubt that the whole issue was preeminently political and not communal. The acceptance or even tacit approval of Mr. Jinnah's three pronouncements on his part, said Pandit Nehru would mean that there were only three courses left open to him, to leave this country for all times, to retire to the Himalayas or to put an end to himself. He could do none of these things. Referring to the Congress stand at present, Pandit Nehru said that the Working Committee had only one course to adopt and it had taken that. The Ministries had resigned. Pandit Nehru then gave a resume of pourparlers the Congress leaders and Mr. Jinnah had with the Viceroy. Pandit Nehru had over seven hours' discussions with Mr. Jinnah over the reply to be submitted to the Viceroy. He did not discuss anything about the communal situation. The discussions were purely political. It was known fact that Mr. Jinnah declined to join in sending a joint note to the Viceroy, presenting India's demands. The Congress Ministers resigned not for communal reasons but because they were unable to associate themselves in the war. Pandit Nehru refused to believe that there was any Muslim who could not agree to the Congress demand for the independence of this country. **Communal**

issues, one would think, related to music before mosque, the killing of cows and so on. But the trend of the communal question in this country for the past two years had developed on an altogether different line, which had a deep political significant. For example he said there was the question of representation of Muslim League members in the Ministries and the formation of coalition Ministries. This was not a communal issue. Now that the Congress Ministries had resigned, there was no question of any coalition. He further pointed out that even if Mr. Jinnah and himself had agreed, it would have left the Congress attitude *vis-a-vis* the war unchanged. But Mr. Jinnah did not agree with the steps pursued by the Congress. Proceeding Pandit Nehru said that many eminent men, who were in the Congress once, were not there now. When the Congress wedded itself to non-violent non-co-operation, many left it simply because they were unable to subscribe to the new political doctrine. Mr. M. A. Jinnah and those, who thought with him and those in the Congress viewed an objective from different angles. Staunch supporters of the British in the past could be found in the League ranks to-day and they continued to help the British. He would request Congressmen and those who sympathised with the Congress, to study the situation well. There was considerable confusion on the communal issue. One should probe under the surface and was sure to realise that it was a political issue. Pandit Nehru then explained the Congress resolution on war and also the League's resolution on the subject. He could understand if the League had insisted on the protection of minorities, and at the same time, demand independence and also the right to frame the constitution by Indians themselves. This the League did not do. The idea of independence, according to the League resolution, had gone by the board. The speaker then explained the objective of the Congress. Independence, he asserted, was for all and, once it was achieved, the main task of the Congress would have been done. The Congress, besides, wanted what the future constitution should be framed by the Indian people and not by the Congress. The minorities issue should be settled with the consent of the minorities themselves, failing which it could be referred to international tribunal. He appealed to Congressmen earnestly to carry out the costructive programme of the Congress. There were some who were impatient and demanded that the Congress should forthwith undertake a struggle for the realisation of its objective. But he would advise them to abide by the advice of Mahatma Gandhi. They must be careful about the steps they were taking. After all the next move, which should necessarily be a big move, could not be undertaken because an individual wanted it or even a group of politicians wanted

it. Circumstances and the time factor was the most important thing. If those factors were not taken into consideration then the result would be bad. Congressmen should lose no time in making the Congress strong, both organisationally and otherwise. The step, which the Congress would take on Mahatma Gandhi's advice, would be a forward step and it was going to be a decision for which there would be no retracing at all. Pandit Nehru then explained to the audience the circumstances which held to the proposal for talks on the communal question with Mr. Jinnah, he casually told Mr. Jinnah that he was prepared to meet him at a later date and discuss the communal problem. Mr. Jinnah suggested that the venue of the talk should be Bombay and he agreed. For about three weeks he had not heard from Mr. Jinnah and so he wrote to him asking him to fix a date. Mr. Jinnah replied that he would be staying in Bombay, whereupon Pandit Nehru wrote that he would telephone to him. But the succeeding day he saw in the paper Mr. Jinnah's appeal for the observance of the " deliverance day." He was unable to find a precedent for Mr. Jinnah's move in all his public life or in political history elsewhere. It was a new example set in Indian politics and it was indeed a very dangerous example. " Atrocities " was a very strong word and the many allegations made against the Congress were not doubt absolutely baseless. He had heard complaints of such atrocities before and he had carefully made enquiries to find out if it were time. He wanted proofs but the League had none to offer. Then they appointed the Paper Committee to find out proofs. Surely it was the case of placing the cart before the horse. The whole thing was baseless and reckless charges were made. When one wanted proof of the League then started to manufacture some. It was started in the report that Muslims were massacred in Gorakpur. The whole report, needless to say, was a fallacious fabrication.

XIX

The Dark Shadows Of Violence

(December 31, 1939)

In this world of conflict and war and misery, it is not easy to wish happiness to anyone. To be happy to-day is to be insensitive to human sorrow. So I hesitate to give the convential message of a Happy New Year. This New Year that will soon be with us is full of the dark shadows of violence and conflict and no man can foretell what the outcome will be. But though an individual or a nation may not control the play of circumstances, they can rise superior to them and thus defeat fate and destroy even. Let us therefore hold fast to our anchor, to our principles and objectives, and work for them with all might and main, and in this endeavour itself we shall find fulfilment. No success is worth having at the cost of basic principles for which we stand for such success is no real success but

is a prelude to failure. It is fitting that on the threshold of the New Year, here is in the city of Lahore, our minds should travel back ten years when we took to independence and pledged ourselves to it on the banks of the Ravi. That pledge still stands unredeemed. Let us address ourselves to it with good will to all, working for the establishment of an independent, united and democratic India, when every individual has the gates of opportunity open before him, and life for all is one co-operative effort for the good of each and all. It will be time enough then to think in terms of personal happiness. Meanwhile I wish my countrymen a New Year of straight hard work for the fulfilment of our dreams.

XX

The Goal Of The Congress

(December 31, 1939.)

Hours before Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru appeared on the rostrum amidst deafening cheers evey inch of the space available in the spacious gardens of the Kapurthala House had been occupied. There were men and women, young and old, belonging to all communities, Muslims being present in very large numbers. The surrounding house-tops and the trees in the lawns were occupied. The Provincial Congress Committee had made very good arrangements and the organisers of the meeting Lala Jagat Narain, Mr. Virendra and a band of Congress workers remaind busy doing all that was possible to accommodate the crowds and manage the record gathering. The Ahrar volunteers under Mr. Ilam Din, the National Volunteer Corps of Lyallpur under Mr. Dev Raj Vohra be entirely unworkable, partly because a small group, as suggested by him, is not likely to evolve a democratic constitution or even possibly agree together, and partly because British Government is supposed to have a hand in this business. " One essential preliminary to the success of any such venture " said Panditji "is that the British Government had decided to liquidate itself in India and the decision lies with the Indian people. Secondly that the decision will be taken by the mass of people. Pandit Jawaharlal added that experience had shown that the committee, appointed by one or few, worked more for the interests of individuals. But when a small committee was chosen by the mass of people it came to represent mass and a large body of Congress volunteers had a hard time in controlling the crowds. Pandit Jawaharlal addressed the seething mass of humanity from the rostrum which was used at the Lahore Congress and from which Independence was declared to be the goal of the Congress in 1930. The gathering estimated to be about one lakh, heard Pt. Jawaharlal with rapt attention for one hour. Dr. Gopi Chand presided. Maulana Habibul Rehman, the Ahrar leader addressing the meeting requested Pandit Nehru and through him the Congress to refuse to have anything to do with those Muslim " leaders " who were try-

ing to serve their old masters. The Nationalist Muslims and the Ahrars had remained quiet so far because they knew that negotiations with men like Mr. Jinnah could never fructify. Addressing Pandit Jawaharlal and through him the Congress the Maulana said: "You must respect and encourage an ordinary Muslim worker who is willing to make sacrifices for the country rather than go after Jinnah." Amidst loud cheers the Maulana said "**One good that the observance of the Deliverance Day has done is that it has brought about the deliverance of the Congress from Mr. Jinnah.**" Pt. Nehru speaking in Hindustani referred to the meeting which he addressed three years ago and the changes and events that had taken place since then. He said, "The dream of seeing a free India was, it appeared to us, being realised and we seemed to be getting nearer our goal. We had successfully opposed the biggest power of the world. But to our shame and distress new enemies of the freedom movement have arisen. We find to-day our own countrymen working against the interest of the masses and trying to cloud the real issues by creating a storm of communal controversy." But Pandit Nehru said that they were not going to be disheartened and they were sure to get over the difficulties. He was not inclined to be little the importance of communal questions. But he was opposed to too much stress being laid upon them. Those who did not want the solution of political questions brought in communal issues. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru referring to the attitude adopted by the Viceroy and the British government towards Congress demand criticised it and remarked that the Viceroy had evaded the real issue and had given a most unsatisfactory reply. The Congress had not asked for any special privileges and concessions for itself or any particular community but for the whole country. The Congress could not be satisfied by being given a few more offices as perhaps the Viceroy thought. Pandit Nehru then referred to the Constituent Assembly proposal and pointed out that they had agreed to the election of its members by separate electorates because they did not want to force anybody to accept joint electorates. Addressing those who appeared to be impatient Pandit Nehru asked them to make preparations for the coming struggle. Warming up a little he added "**If and where civil disobedience is started in India this time, it will not be a lame affair. This time there will be an up heavel in the country. The world is fast changing. No one knows what is going to happen to the world and to India. Let us get out of the old rut and be prepared for higher and greater things.**" Criticising the attitude of the Muslim League, Pt. Jawaharlal said that the only work of the Muslim League during the last two years had been to make all sorts of allegations against the Congress. With the resignation of the Congress Ministries the League appeared to have lost its occupations of vilification. Explaining the position of the Congress and Congress leaders, including himself Pandit Jawaharlal said "Along with

other Congress leaders, I am accused of having brought into prominence, Mr. Jinnah by going to meet him. Let me tell you that we have been doing that in order to clear our path. Pandit Jawaharlal concluding declared Mr. Jinnah's statement in connection with the Deliverance Day had shown clearly the difference between Mr. Jinnah's outlook and his own outlook. He had, therefore, preferred to go and meet him. Before he resumed his seat Pt. Jawaharlal made a fervent appeal to people of the Punjab to celebrate the Independence Day on January 26 with enthusiasm.

XXI

War Aims of Britain

(December 30, 1939)

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressed a mammoth meeting in Jallianwalla Bagh under the auspices of the local Congress. The place was decorated and illuminated. A very large number of women was also present. Pandit Nehru said their help to China and Spain, though insignificant, had enhanced their prestige in international politics. India could no longer remain isolated from the influence of other countries as the present war was affecting their economic life. The responsibility of the Congress had grown. Communal organisations were creating obstacles which the Congress had to remove. The Congress had no sympathy with Germany as Hitler had adopted agressive methods. The Congress had taken the step after careful consideration. It had declared that they did not like to strengthen British imperialism ; they merely wanted a declaration of Britain's war aims. If they wanted to fight for the freedom of the world they themselves also wanted to be free and their opinion taken. The Congress had undertaken a big step, with the resignation of the Congress ministries. They had further demanded a constituent assembly to determine the future constitution. Alluding to the Viceroy's consultations with the leaders, he said Mr. Jinnah instead of bringing up political issue had raised the communal question. Proceeding Pandit Nehru said separate electorates were a curse. Mr. Jinnah refused to accept the constituent assembly. He wanted a few nominated hands to decide the question whereas the Congress wanted the entire country to decide it. Against Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan's body of 12 men Pandit Nehru would prefer 12 crores to decide the future of the country. Answering a question when the next step would be taken by the Congress, Pandit Nehru said that Mahatma Gandhi wanted that the country must be fully prepared before this was taken. It would depend on circumstances. Earlier an address of welcome was presented to Pandit Nehru on behalf of the citizens and a purse of Rs. 101 by the Gold and Silver Association.

XXII

Difference of Outlook

(January 7, 1940)

We never seem to reach even the proper discussion of problems as various hurdles and obstructions, in the shape of conditions precedent, come in our way. These conditions precedent are of far-reaching significance. It should not be difficult to remove these hurdles and come to grips with the subject itself. But these hurdles continue and others are added to them. I am compelled to think that the real difficulty is the difference in political outlook and objectives.

XXIII

Bogey of Communalism

(January 9, 1940)

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru visited Hapur in the morning. The local chamber of commerce presented him with an address of welcome and a purse of Rs. 500. The Town Hall grounds, where he addressed a big public meeting, were tastefully decorated another purse of Rs. 500 was presented by Mr. Kailash Chand Mithal. In the course of this brief address, Panditji referred to the present political situation in India and abroad and explained the Congress attitude towards the European war. The Congress he added could not wait indefinitely nor could Princes or Communalists block the way to progress at their sweet will. The bogey of communal dissensions has been raised, he said, to cloud the real issue before the country. The communal problem was, thus, of secondary importance. Panditji then made a vigorous appeal to make the Congress a still greater and stronger organisation ; they should strictly adhere to non-violence and popularise Khaddar and celebrate the Independence Day with greater enthusiasm than ever before. After taking tea with Mr. Kailash Chand Mithal, he left for Palakhwa.

XXIV

Approach to Jinnah

(January 10, 1940)

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a largely attended public meeting in the evening in the Town Hall, referred to the correspondence between Mr. Jinnah and himself. Mr. Jinnah had used strong language about him (the speaker). The Pandit said that he had nothing to say about this as Mr. Jinnah was entitled to use any language he liked but he was sorry that Mr. Jinnah should think in this way. So far as he (The Pandit was concerned, he had never said

anything in speech or in a statement which was derogatory to Mr. Jinnah. He was entirely opposed to personal criticism in public matters and, in particular, he would not think of saying anything improper personally about Mr. Jinnah, for whom he had respect for many years. But it was another matter to discuss political views and criticise them. Pandit Nehru felt that there was enormous difference in the political outlook of Mr. Jinnah and himself. This had not arisen recently but dated at least since the non-co-operation movement twenty years ago, when Mr. Jinnah felt compelled to leave the Congress because he disagreed with its objective and methods. It was this vital political difference, said the Pandit, that removed any common ground for discussion. He would also like to make it clear that the recent report from the Punjab about what he said was incorrect. It was difficult to keep peace with errors in press reporting, more especially in reports of private gathering. What he said was that the conditions laid down by Mr. Jinnah made a common approach exceedingly difficult, if not impossible. He had been wrongly reported to have said that it was impossible for him to resume conversations with Mr. Jinnah personally. There was no personal equation in the matter that there was a vital political difference, which had been made even greater by Mr. Jinnah's decision about the " Day of Deliverance."

XXV

Close up the Ranks

(*January 11, 1940*)

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's tour in Meerut concluded this morning, when he left for Muzzaffarnagar. Last evening he had tea with Mr. and Mrs. Sam Earnest Devalal, when he had informal discussion with representative Indian Christians. Pandit Nehru appealed to them not to go against the current of nationalist forces in the country. He recognised that they had achieved good results in the matter of social uplift work, but he regretted to say that Christians as a body, had refrained from taking any active part in the country's struggle for freedom. Pandit Nehru pointed out that it was futile for Christians or any other minority to insist on safeguards and protection of privileges. He advised them to remember that they were all Indians with equal rights and privileges. He then referred to formation of the " minority department " by the A. I. C. C. to deal with all important questions relating to minorities. Pandit Nehru met last night about 500 Congress workers from all over the District, and the discussions continued till early this morning. After describing the present political situation in the country in detail, he advised the workers to prepare themselves for future contingencies. He explained how the scope of the Independence Day Pledge had been widened to include the constructive programme of the Congress and pointed out that this in no way indicated a departure from the Congress policy during the last 20 years. He emphasised that they could achieve substantial

results only if they carried out the constructive programme. Answering a question on the Constituent Assembly, Pandit Nehru said that it would be convened only when the British Government realised that there was no option, but to part with real power. He recognised that it was not easy for the Government to accept their demand for Constituent Assembly and reject its recommendations. Pandit Nehru also urged workers to sink all differences and close up their ranks.

XXVI

Fate of Freedom

(*January 10, 1940*)

There could be no question of a settlement with the Government or of the return to office of Congress ministries till the question of India's freedom was finally settled, declared Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing a crowded meeting this morning. The Pandit said that the fate of India could not and could not be decided by the Viceroy or by the 52 advisers, he invited recently or even by the twelve wise men suggested by Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, but by the people of India themselves. That was the basis of the Congress demand and he failed to see how anyone could oppose it.

Pandit Nehru referred to the communal and other organisations in the country which he said had discarded all limits of decency and were out to discredit and abuse the Congress. They had also to analyse the reasons why their repeated efforts for a communal settlement had failed. Swaraj to-day was within easy reach but their friends were pulling them away from the grip. Referring to the Bengal Premier, Pandit Nehru said that Mr. Huq went out of his province to abuse the Congress. To win freedom for India, said the Pandit, he would be prepared to crawl on his knees but he would never stoop to meet Mr. Fuzl-ul-Huq. The Bengal Premier had made allegations against the Congress and then side-tracked the issue when called upon to substantiate the charges. Pandit Nehru admitted that their achievements could be found out by going out in the country-side. Proceeding he said that to win freedom for India they would have to fight not only the British Government but also the organisations and interests created and backed by the British in the country. These interests would not bear to see power pass over from their hands and in the name of religion were creating difficulties to-day. For instance he was sure that a free India could not tolerate Indian States for a day and yet the Government which protested to fight for democracy in the West was backing the States to crush the life and liberty of its people. Interlinked with the question of India's liberty, he said, was the question of preventing the upper

classes oppressing the lower classes. Pandit Nehru said that India had no sympathy with Nazi Germany, but they could not support the British with men and money unless they knew that it was their own war just as much it was as that of Britain. In conclusion Pandit Nehru referred to the new pledge for the Independence Day and said that anyone who could not use Khadi or spin was useless for the struggle for freedom.

XXVII

None Dare Speak Against Swaraj

(*January 21, 1940*)

Pessimistic note regarding chances of a settlement of the present impasse in the Indian political situation was struck by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing a largely attended public meeting. Mr. Punamchandranka, President of the Provincial Congress Committee, presided, and among those present were the former premier, Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla and former Minister Mr. D. R. Mishra and Mr. G. J. Bhamka. Pandit Nehru said that at present there appeared no chance of a settlement of the present " impasse " though he admitted that the Viceroy's recent Bombay speech was sweet. He opined that the present British Cabinet was of no avail so far as Indian swaraj was concerned. Pandit Jawaharlal added that the time had come when none dare speak against swaraj, though one did not like it. Impediments were, however, being put in its way in the name of religion and minorities. Differences, he asserted were not really religious but political. It was the final effort of the feudal classes and others who did not want swaraj to come yet, but dare not say so. It was for this reason that Congress wanted to guage public opinion through a Constituent Assembly and it was for this reason that the idea was being vigorously opposed by some. Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan suggested that India's fate should be decided by a dozen men, but these men would frame a constitution only favouring themselves. If the constitution was to be framed for the general public, it should be framed by the masses themselves. Pandit Jawaharlal said that they had to keep up their fight for freedom and they might have to take to Satyagraha. In their anxiety for small things, they should not forget the ultimate goal. **The world was in a melting pot and times were critical, but the world in which they were living was changing and a new order was evolving. Great changes had taken place. The peasant was not now the same helpless creature of twenty years ago but could raise his head. A change in the attitude towards India could also be seen in other countries.** Having heard of our "satyagraha" movements, they had greater respect for us and they believed that India would be soon free. India's resources put her at par with

other countries who were now more anxious to have better relations with India. They were trying to befriend India as though she were free or going to be free. The Indian's tone and outlook had also undergone a change. An Indian now did not talk with foreigners in complaining terms but on terms of equality and dignity. Pandit Nehru was against the use of abusive languages because that was not the diplomatic way. Some people in India did not realise it and still used such words. He claimed that there was hardly any national body in the world to match with the Congress. Foreigners always inquired of two things—Gandhi and the Congress. He admitted that there were some weaknesses in the Congress organisation, but they were to be expected in such a vast body. But in such critical times as the present, its members should behave like soldiers in a disciplined manner. It was inexperience and folly that made people to move in different ways. Pandit Nehru continued that was not the way to fight a big battle. He appreciated that everybody was expressing his views freely, but everybody should ultimately follow the line decided. The Congress demand has had a good effect in various countries and the Congress stand, he said had been upheld as against the Viceroy's reply. The Muslim League, he said, was opposed to the Constituent Assembly. The League's attitude indicated that it was not right to say that the League wanted swaraj. Nobody he said could stop swaraj and trusted that they would be able to solve their differences. " She may get swaraj if not by our strength then by the British Government's weakness." Pandit Nehru said that no other body besides the Congress could solve their question and take them towards their goal and it was necessary to strengthen it. He continued, " Recently people had been anxious about starting satyagraha and felt that the Congress was showing great weakness." It would have been a great weakness on the part of the Congress, he felt, if at the commencement of the war satyagraha had been launched. If that had been done, it would have been suspected that they had been bribed by Hitler. " We might then have been misunderstood but we would not be misunderstood now." The resignation of Ministries was the first step and they would take the next step when found necessary for which preparation was necessary. Pandit Nehru hoped the minor differences would be dropped and there would be general unity in the Congress. He appealed for proper celebration of the Independence Day. Referring to the charkha clause in the new pledge, Pandit Nehru said that the charkha had always been in the Congress programme though not in the pledge. Taking this pledge did not mean that they did not want big industries. He favoured large industries not under individuals but under state control. Side by side the cottage industries should be supported. The pledge was only meant to stress the beneficial nature to India of the cottage industries. He referred to the Congress President's clarification regarding taking the pledge and thought it was undesirable to have separate Independence Day meetings. One could omit those portions of the pledge one did not approve of.

XXVIII

Nothing Short of Complete Independence

(January 31, 1940)

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing Congressmen this afternoon said that Mahatma Gandhi would be meeting the Viceroy very shortly. The Congress was always prepared to come to a settlement, but nothing short of complete freedom for India could be acceptable to the Congress. The present policy of the British Government showed that they were anxious to come to a settlement with the Congress. They were acting with moderation in all provinces except that the Bengal and the Punjab Government had taken to a repressive policy. It was apparent that the British Government were at present realising that any settlement arrived at by them with communal or political organisations, which had not the support of the masses, would not solve the Indian problem. Therefore the British Government wanted a settlement with the Congress, which had the support of the masses. Despite all this Pandit Nehru could not express optimism about a settlement. He, however, felt that the situation was changing so rapidly that India was bound to be free much earlier than could be expected. The British Government could with the help of the Muslim League and the Indian princes, cause some delay in the attainment of freedom, but such delay could last only for a very short period. If the British Government came into conflict with the Congress, they would not gain anything. That would only harm both Britain and India. Pandit Nehru appealed to the public to strengthen the Congress organisation and make preparations for satyagraha. They should remember that when once satyagraha was started, there could be no going back, and the fight would have to be continued till complete freedom was won.

XXIX

Soldiers of Freedom

(February 3, 1940)

If you want to be soldiers in the cause of the country, you should train yourselves, otherwise you will only create confusion. It is you who will have to shoulder the burden of the country, so your decisions should be backed with responsibility", said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing the Students' Conference this evening. The conference is being held under the auspices of the Allahabad Students' Association with Mr. F. D. Tandon as the chairman of the Reception Committee and Mrs. Uma Nehru as the President. Drawing the outline of the political history of the world since the Great War, Pandit Nehru said that this period had not produced any great man in Europe. Lenin was great no doubt, but Hitler and Mussolini, who were only econd-rate men had actually set back the progress of the world which in effect was the

sign of decadence of the ruling classes of the old world and marked the end of the epoch and the approach of another. "This is the age of confusion—transition of era—and history has answered the old questions that were puzzling us by posing new questions," said Pandit Nehru. **"Let us keep our aims clear before us. We want political independence, we want economic emancipation and we want improvement in our social structure. Revolutions are all right but they should be such as will not take the country backward instead of forward. Our step should be firm and in the right direction."** Referring to the question of Constituent Assembly, Pandit Nehru said that this aim had been before the Congress since 1934 and in fact it was the natural corollary of the national demand. The popular will had a right to assert itself and to frame constitution for the country. This is what democracy demands. Pandit Nehru concluded that those who were against the idea of a Constitutent Assembly, like the Liberals and the Muslim League and wanted a few men on the top to decide upon the future constitution for the country were not sure that they really represented the masses, because if they were, then adult franchise should give them effective representation.

XXX

No Peace Without Freedom

(February 9, 1940)

There is going to be no peace in India except on the basis of Indian independence, said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at a press conference to-day. Reviewing the present stand of the Congress *vis-a-vis* the British Government, Pandit Nehru said that the position could be summed up in two words, namely, "nothing doing." That position, he said, was clear enough but still according to the usual practice, Mahatma Gandhi was perfectly prepared to meet the Viceroy and discuss the situation with him. The result was also clear in that, as matters stood to-day, there was nothing in common between the Congress and the British Government. In other words what Indian nationalism stood for was far removed from what the British Government was prepared to accept. This was not a matter of friendly individuals talking together but of fundamental conflicts between vast forces and ideas, namely nationalism aiming at independence and imperialism trying to consolidate itself and continue its hold and between the two there was no compromise unless one disappeared or submitted to the other. It was manifestly inconceivable for Indian Nationalism to give up its objective and basic position. So far as British imperialism was concerned, everything that had happened since the war began, both internally in India and in regard to British foreign policy, showed that there was not the least intention on the part of the British Government to give up its Imperialism, though owing to the pressure of events it might tone it down. Fundamentally, therefore the grounds for a

compromise between India and England were at present lacking. Pandit Nehru added that if the position of India was analysed the British Government depended more and more on reactionaries whether they were Princes in feudal areas or communalists. The obstacle in the path of Indian freedom was the combination of British imperialism with reactionaries in India. The recent passing of the Amending Act in Parliament of the Government of India limiting the powers of the Provincial Assemblies showed how far the British Government were from any progress in India. How could, he asked, such a wide gulf be bridged. **Events, which moved fast, and the strength of the respective parties could be the ultimate arbiters. "We live in an age of reality." He said. "We must, therefore, think in terms of reality. There is going to be no peace in India except on the basis of Indian independence."** Reiterating the demand of the Congress for a Constituent Assembly, Pandit Nehru asserted that the fact that the Muslim League or certain other minority leaders objected to it meant that they were afraid of their masses and they wanted to keep the control of the respective groups in the hands of the upper classes. He said that the Constituent Assembly could not possibly injure any minority and certainly not the Muslims. Already there was a revolt visible among various minorities against those reactionaries and sometimes against feudal or upper class leadership which did not allow their masses to function. Proceeding Pandit Nehru said that if the British Government could not fulfil their obligations to the princes or other minorities by submitting to the Congress demand, that simply meant that the British Government had tied themselves up in a knot of their own creation and in any event, the demand for Indian freedom with full safeguards for minorities could not be given up because the British Government found themselves in difficulty. Referring to the question of actions by the Congress, Pandit Nehru said that as far as he could see delay on the part of the Congress had not injured its cause but it might well benefit it.

EIGHTH SECTION

The Road To Quit India

The Quit India Resolution was not passed as if out of impulse on August 8, 1942. There was a very rough road between Viceroy's declaration of war on behalf of India in September 1939 and the special meeting of the A.I.C.C. in Bombay in August 1942, milestoned by Mahatma Gandhi's Symbolic Satygraha, resignation of Congress ministries, Jinnah's ominous celebration of the non-existent Deliverance Day, Cripp's unfortunate visit, etc. In the forty-one speeches in this section we get an excellent picture of the current political storms since the release of Jawaharlal in December 1941, after the imprisonment in Symbolic Satygraha, to the Quit India in August 1942.)

I

The Larger Prison of India

(*Lucknow Dec. 5, 1942*)

To all my comrades, to Congressmen, to the people, my greetings. It is good to meet old friends again, to see face to face, to feel the warmth of the welcoming smile and embrace and grip, to see the wide fields and crowded streets and the ever changing panorama of humanity. But it is not good to go in and out of prison at the bidding of alien authority. **It is not good to come out of the narrow confines of jail into a larger prison that is India to-day. The time will come surely when we break through and demolish all the prison walls that encompass our bodies and minds, and function freely as a free nation. But the time is not yet and we may not forget this or rejoice at a trivial change which has no meaning.**

In this world of infinite suffering where violence and hatred and the spirit of destruction seem to run supreme there is no rest or avoidance of travail. In India, where foreign and authoritarian rule oppresses and strangles us, there is no peace for us and

the call for action in the interests of a free India and a free world comes insistently to our ears. The call of India is there for those who wish to hear. The call of suffering humanity becomes more agonising from day to day. So there is no rest for us but to carry the burden of the day and hold fast to our anchor. **We have watched from afar the heroic courage and infinite sacrifice of other people struggling for freedom, especially of the people of China, and the people of Soviet Russia pouring their heart's blood and destroying their own mighty achievements, so that freedom may live.** Our conditions are different, our ways of struggle are not the same. Yet there is the same call for sacrifice and discipline and iron determination.

The call of India continues to resound in our ears and tingle the blood in our veins. So let us go forward then along the path of our choice and take all trials and tribulations with serenity and confidence and with smiling countenance.

II

Not To Be Offsprings of Britain

(Allahabad Dec. 15, 1941)

In relation to the question of India's independence it is impossible for me to think of dominion status even with a time limit. What we contemplate is complete independence. Those who talk of dominion status, however high placed and sincere, are doing a disservice to the country. We are not an offshoot of Britain and England is not our mother country. Nor are we to accept the position of cultural offspring of Britain who have to wait to come of age and to be given responsibility and powers gradually. We have a cultural heritage and history of our own.

Besides in a fast-changing world with the face of things altering with each turn of events, the table even of a time limit has no meaning. What we want is independence. That means severance of connections with Britain. Of course, that does not mean a position of isolation for us. What it does mean is that we should form part of the new order in our own light. On this question of independence of India, there can be no compromise either with British Government or any group in India.

Characterising Russian fight as epic in courage and as an outstanding landmark in history of this war and especially commending the 'scorched earth" policy which entailed immense sacrifice in order to serve a larger cause, Pandit Nehru said that it has proved beyond a shadow of doubt that the Soviet political and economic structure to be stable and strong enough to withstand the onslaught.

Panditji exhorted the students not to waste away their energies in dissension, indiscipline and electioneering. It would be

meaningless to reiterate slogans and catch phrases mechanically with a closed mind.

III

Heroic Resistance Of China

(Bombay Dec. 18, 1941)

A tribute to the heroic resistance of China, Russia, Britain and America against aggression, was paid by Pandit Nehru. Referring to the war, he said that it was a matter of great sorrow to witness so much of suffering all round. All the nations in the world to-day were cast into an ocean, as it were, and they were asked to sink or swim as they chose. Only courage and stout-heartedness could save them from doom.

The Congress had repeatedly, and for a long time, expressed itself in support of those nations, fighting against Nazism and Fascism. When Soviet Russia, China and U. S. A. were fighting on one side, there was no doubt as to where the sympathy of India lay. India could not remain unaffected from what was happening elsewhere in the world. But India was dominated by Britain. India had been carrying on for a long time a struggle for her independence. In spite of the past and bitter memories, the Congress was prepared to set aside sentiments and was prepared to join hands with Britain as free men and fight for the freedom of others. If this war was for the freedom of the world, the Congress was prepared to stand by Britain and accept the responsibility for running the Government here. Britain not only denied that Government had ceaselessly assailed the honour of India, but also justified her actions.

After referring to many countries that had lost their freedom, Panditji asked: what then must we do? If we sink in our endeavour to achieve independence, let us sink proudly and unashamed. We must not be afraid of the future but press on towards our objective with strong determination and resolute courage. An immense problem of life and death faces us. Think of the people of Europe and China, and the brave Russians who have not hesitated for a moment to destroy their dear creations. While India can never be isolated, she should not forget her main goal, the independence of India.

Behind you stands the statute of Lokmanya Tilak. "Freedom is my Birthright," he declared and handed over the torch to us. Our hands are feeble, but let us keep the torch burning and carry it to victory.

When the Congress offered its co-operation, it received insult from Britain. To-day the British were plunged in a misfortune. Our sympathies are with them—not only our sympathy but also our reverance. Britain was fighting for her very freedom to-day. India has been fighting for freedom for a century.

They say that their freedom is at stake and so is the freedom of so many other countries, but let us not forget that ours was lost long ago. In fighting for others, freedom, we should not forget our own. He demanded that India should be given freedom now. He disapproved the demand of dominion status to be given in one or two years after the war. Conditions were fluid. In this rapidly changing world it was impossible to hazard as to what would be the state of countries to-morrow. While such was the case, a promise of Dominion Status, at a future date could not be acceptable to India. He gave the example of China's struggle against aggression, the courage and determination, a thing to be envied by every nation. He showed faith that the Chinese would, in the end, march to victory, "undaunted by misfortunes."

IV

Fast Changing World

(*Allahabad Dec. 14, 1941*)

"After thirteen months spent in isolation I have now been trying to regain my contact with people and to adjust myself to the activities of the fast changing world. We should pool and exchange ideas.

"A momentous session of the Working Committee will be held to give its decision. Whatever step we take should be concerted, firm and in keeping with the dignity of our nationalism. If wrong, we should mend ; it should certainly not lack full realisation of the situation and should not be halting and ignorant.

The questions before us are very clear—India's freedom and our attitude towards this war. The problem of India's freedom is not a national but a world problem. We cannot say that it concerns Hindus, Muslims, or any other narrow group or body. The world is too much linked together and makes the problem of the freedom of 400 million Indians a world problem. If we go down, the world goes down. Similarly with China. India and China together mean half the world and our freedom is of a piece with the entire picture of the world war and world piece.

Characterising Mahatmaji's way of conducting the satyagraha movement as dignified, firm and wise, Pandit Nehru said that looking at fundamentals, he could unhesitatingly say that what Gandhiji had done was for the world's good and India's good. The movement was not meant to fritter away national energy in fireworks. It was meant to enter our protest against the treatment meted out to us and to make clear that we could fight only for our freedom. Gandhiji's leadership has made our position quite clear. The British Government in their ignorance may make light of our movement, but I am sure that when the crisis comes we will

show that we can take the big step. The release of the political prisoners had not changed the situation as far as the attitude of the British Government towards India was concerned. It remained the same. The detention of political prisoners without trial and indefinitely also made clear the British policy. Panditji said that the policy of British Government seemed to be to accentuate our differences and to divert our attention from the main issues. I have no quarrel with the British people, but we will have nothing to do with the British Government whatever might happen to us. Releases also, of course, do not affect the satyagraha movement which is continuing in the usual way.

He expressed his sympathy with China and Russia and Nazism and Fascism. The German invasion of Russia with all the Nazi borders was astonishingly sudden and treacherous.

Referring to the possibility of invasion of India and the duty of Indians then, Pandit Nehru said: " There was no reason to be panicky and an equivocal reply in advance should not be given because the reply would depend upon how and when the danger came. If we had our freedom we would think out our problems but all that was happening at present was that we were asked to obey the British Government orders slavishly ".

Pandit Nehru said that it would be wrong to make the world at large feel that at the moment the primary question before us was one of violence or non-violence. The issue is not whether we will raise arms in defence of India or not. The question of non-violence is not before us in this form. When it does crop up, we will answer. The Congress had never decided not to keep a military and police force. The issue before us was much wider. India's freedom was one of primary considerations.

V

Future Destiny Of India

(Bardoli Dec. 30, 1941)

I am not aware of ever having demanded that administration of India should be handed over to a small minority of political amateurs. I have demanded that the constitution and future destiny of India should be settled by a Constituent Assembly elected by the people of India on the basis of adult suffrage.

I have read H. G. Well's criticism of my statement with interest. Almost as a child I read his romances and enjoyed them: later I read his other books and profitted by them. Eminent thinker and historian that he is sometimes, I have a feeling when reading his writings that he has gone back to the realm of romance. Whenever he writes about India, he gives me the impression that his knowledge of past and present India, of Indian history and culture, seems to be singularly limited and derived chiefly from traveller's tales or romantic effusions of some of his own countrymen.

It does him less than justice when he allows his cultured and far-seeing mind to deal with vital problems, affecting hundreds of millions of human beings after the manner of *barra* and *pukka* sahibs' whom he so dislikes. May I assure him that I do not consider him to be of the British empire or a person who has the least control over the British Government or the governing class. Nor do I accept anything from him except intelligent appreciation of the world about him. That world is little bigger not only in size but also in intellectual and cultural achievement than England or even Europe.

("It is a poor tribute to British 'Raj' to say that after 170 years it has not been able to weld India together. As a matter of fact it tried and still tries, as all empires do to divide and disrupt and we have to face the consequences of this long endeavour.)

Pandit Nehru referred to H. G. Wells' observation that he refused to agree to Sankeys' declaration of the rights of man. "As a matter of fact, I agreed then but expressed my doubts about the effectiveness of such declarations and suggested that certain essential changes would have to take place in the world before such a declaration could have a real value. For many years I believed in world co-operation in all the various items that H. G. Wells mentions and in additional matters also. I have written and spoken about this and am perfectly prepared to co-operate with anybody to this end. But my world happens to include India and my internationalism does not lead me to accept the imperialist 'status quo'.

"I am surprised at his saying that I refused to agree to Sankey's declaration of the rights of man. What surprises me still more that he should have overlooked my explicit reference to Sankey's declaration in the very statement to which he was replying. Therein I expressed my approval of it again. I am not even aware of having demanded that the administration of India should be handed over to a small minority of 'political amateurs'."

After asserting that a Constituent Assembly was the only way to decide the future, Panditji said: "I shall be glad if Mr. Wells will tell me what other democratic way there is of settling these questions. As for our being amateurs possibly he is right, but will he be so very satisfied with experts who control his destiny and ours? Even if we forget past history, recent events have not led us to associate much intelligence or competence with them.

"Powerful cultures overflow to other countries and there is a continuous intermingling of different cultures. India in the course of six thousand years has been influenced by them. Yet there is in no other country in the world, barring China, a certain amazing continuity of cultural traditions which binds the country ; from Mohanjedaro to the present day, there is that unbroken stream of culture and sense of unity in common traditions and achievements.

"Mr. Wells objects to my saying the 'people of India'. He is welcome to call them what he likes but it is a fact In any event British 'Raj' is disappearing whether Mr. Wells' countrymen like it or not and nothing in the world can keep it functioning much longer. It has been a bad dream for us, but after all it is just a page in our long history, and we are turning over the page. May I suggest to Mr. Wells to acquaint himself a little more with Indian history and cultural achievements."

VI

India Can Only Be A Rebel

(*Bombay Dec. 17, 1941*)

"For the past few months that I have been in jail, I have been watching the British Government's policy and the activities of their officials in India and my conviction has been confirmed a thousand-fold that in these circumstances India can only be a rebel against the British Government which has had the insolence and audacity to speak so often through their officials in patronising terms about moral, political and spiritual values, when they themselves have demonstrated to the world that they possess none of these, not even ordinary efficiency either in war or peace.

"I am not interested in repeated performances of Mr. Amery on the public stage repeating the same thing *ad nauseum*. My only answer to him and to the British Government is in the words of Oliver Cromwell quoted by Mr. Amery himself in the House of Commons, 'We have had enough of you. Get out.'

"Some people talk of the revival of Poona offer or some other thing that is dead and over. I am not a believer in revivalism either in religion or politics. Naturally a politician must take into consideration changing circumstances in a changing world. But for anyone to think in terms of 19 months ago after all that has happened, is to exhibit a singular rigidity of mind and that is fatal during this period of war and revolution. During the last few days that I have been out of jail, I have tried to avoid dealing with specific issues, for authoritarian pronouncements on these can only come from the Congress Working Committee.

'I have dealt with the general question of principles of our policy. Recently the question of violence and non-violence has cropped up like King Charles, head. This is a matter which has been frequently discussed in India for years past and everyone knows Mahatma Gandhi's views on it as well as general reaction of the Congress. The Congress view on this question was framed concisely at the last meeting of the A.I.C.C. in Bombay when a resolution was passed with which Mahatmaji agreed in so far as it went for the Congress purposes. No doubt he personally goes further but as the leader of the Congress he accepted it and adapted himself to it. For my part I accept it completely. I would like to

say that during the past year of war and world-wide disaster I have been drawn even nearer to the ideal of political non-violence and disarmament. I cannot say that this can be applied *in toto* regardless of circumstances, for as the A.I.C.C. has said, internal factors and internal conditions will have to be considered. But I do think that we should try our utmost in that direction. For me, and I think for the Congress, this issue in the form in which it has now been raised does not arise, though events may bring it into greater prominence at any time. Other issues precede it. They must be considered first or else there will be confusion of thought and issues.

"When people talk about any kind of co-operation between India and Britain, they seem to forget two factors: one, is that the bitterness of the people to-day is greater than ever against the British policy in India. Anyone, who takes the trouble to find out what the people's feeling is, has only to speak to the man in the street from Peshawar to Cape Comorin.

"During my past twenty-five years of political experience I have never known feeling so strained and bitter. No politician, whatever his views might be, can ignore this background. Secondly, I would like to give an instance, which though far from being a parallel, is interesting. The British Labour party in spite of being completely in line with the war in England refused to co-operate with the Government there, till the Chamberlain Government was pushed out. They were faced with the immediate danger of an invasion, yet they maintained their attitude and Mr. Chamberlain had to go. It is apparent to anyone how our cause is infinitely stronger from any point of view and it is absurd for anyone to imagine that we can co-operate with this Government. It is true, looking at the international situation, all the manner of considerations arise which induce us to give our sympathy to the prop of powers fighting against the Axis powers. If I have been in favour of giving all the possible help to China, I cannot change my attitude now. If I have been in favour, as I am, of assistance being given to the Soviet Union, I cannot change my mind on that subject, because of Soviet Russia's Association with Great Britain. Undoubtedly, all these create difficulties. There is no problem in the world free from difficulties. But I cannot under any circumstances act as the camp follower and recruiting sergeant of the British Government and thus support their policy in India and their general policy towards their subject countries.

Some people and some organisations talk about what might happen after the war is over or a year or two later. I am totally unable to understand this attitude. I am only concerned with to-day and here and now. It will not be Mr. Amery or the British Government who will shape things in the future but the vast elemental forces that are already rising in the world.

"The British Government have not only to face its hundred and fifty years' past in India and such a past is always in our memory, but even its recent past when it has sown seeds of trouble which will bear their evil fruit. Only by an entirely different policy based on the ending of their empire and imperialist policy can they avoid the effects of this policy and win mass sympathy of the people."

Asked why he did not advocate mass civil disobedience if he was so convinced of the popular feeling against the British Government, Panditji said that mass civil disobedience was and is undesirable from the general point of view. He agreed in general with Mahatmaji's policy.

Asked if he felt that individual satyagraha had succeeded, he said that it depended upon the interpretation one put upon the question. If it was meant that individual civil disobedience had not succeeded in disorganising Government's war effort in India, it was ineffective. Here it must be remembered that it was never the intention to hinder war efforts in India and thus help the Fascist forces. On the contrary the question related to whether the movement had affected the people's mind in and outside India, then the answer is in the affirmative. It had been most successful in that it had recorded the unwillingness of the people of India to submit to the policy adopted by the British Government.

VII

The Agony Of The World

(Lucknow Dec. 8, 1941)

"I should like India to use her strength and resources in favour of possible good changes. In the grouping of powers struggling for the mastery of the world, on either side there seem to be dreams entertained by the Government for world domination. Undoubtedly this is so on the part of Hitler. It is not proclaimed as such on the other part.

"I have no doubt that any attempt at worldidomination by any group of powers will be harmful and must be resisted. Still I think that in the grouping that exists, there is also no doubt that progressive forces of the world are aligned with the group represented by Russia, China, America and Britain. In addition to these progressive forces, this group has got strongly entrenched reactionary forces as evidenced by the treatment accorded to India. This treatment inevitably governs our own policy. Yet at the same time we must sympathise and wish well the group which contains these progressive forces, more especially those of China and Soviet Russia."

Every sensitive person must feel to the greater or lesser degree the agony of the world to-day. No individual or nation can or should think in terms of narrow self-interest in the face of this great catastrophe. We have to take the wider outlook ultimately even in terms of self-interest for there can be no doubt that national self-determination is dead and the future is hardly to consist of a large number of separate national entities. Whatever attitude we must take up in India, we must keep these wider aspects in view. This war is much bigger than a war and out of its womb will a number of changes arise.

" In regard to India, we have among us many differences of opinion, some of which are vital. Yet I think that so far as Indians are concerned, to whatever group they might belong, one thing should be common, that is the freedom of India. It should be possible for all of us to accept this common basis for the present to co-operate together to that end, keeping, if necessary all our differences for the future. Working together in spite of our differences will help in resolving those very differences. We are up against very big things in the world. None of us can forget this without becoming petty and low-minded. We have seen how some countries in Asia have in the course of this war lost their independence. We must, therefore, take this larger view and if we cannot make up our differences now, at least keep them for a future occasion, meanwhile working together for the independence of India within the framework of the larger world freedom.

Mahatmaji's leadership has been brilliant. He has stood firm as a rock on certain fundamental principles and not allowed himself to be diverted by various smaller happenings. It is very easy for me or anyone else to criticise certain minor developments with which we may not wholly agree but looking at the scene as a whole, I think that Gandhiji's leadership has not only been right and sound but brilliant.

" In regard to non-violence, I have been unable in the past to accept all the implications of the doctrine so far as their practicable application is concerned. But I had held that this is an ideal worth striving for, with all our might, and even this world war has demonstrated the utter folly of continued application of violence to a settlement or any problem. In fact, violence to-day, can be used by only three or four big powers, the others may be hangers-on. By themselves they are completely ineffective to think in terms of violence.

" I am convinced that the only way out for the world is complete disarmament or else more or less complete destruction. I can conceive, however, of general disarmament being accompanied by international Air Force which might be used for police purposes. But it is essential that this should not be under the control of a few Great Powers, who can thus impose their will upon others. National

freedom for each nation is essential before any such step can be taken.

Referring to the Congress position ' vis-a-vis ' the war, Pandit Nehru stated : ' The Congress position was fully stated in the declaration of September 13, 1939, and subsequently added to by A.I. C. C. resolutions. It remains, till it is modified. Its application must necessarily depend on many factors. For instance, if it were made clear by the British Government that they accept that position completely, not just for Congress, but for India, and give effect to it, this in itself would be a major international event, changing the whole character of the world. Inevitably the many drawbacks and obstacles towards giving support to the Allied cause would then be removed. How India would give practical effect to its undoubted moral support to that cause would then be a matter for full consideration, it will have to be decided by the representatives of the Indian people. The immediate object before India would be to defend itself."

Asked whether he would advise Congressmen to co-operate with the Government in A. R. P. measure, Panditji stated that he was not fully in touch with the situation. Congressmen, obviously will always help in the protection of life whenever such danger arises. Ordinarily co-operation with the authorities, means submission to the authorities : to my mind there are few people in this world who are so incompetent as the Indian authorities in any matter. It is very difficult for intelligent people to submit to decisions of unintelligent people.

Referring to the expansion of Viceroy's Executive Council, Pandit Nehru stated : " I have never been able to understand the significance of Indianisation in anything, whether it is the Government or the army. One does not talk of the Anglicisation of the British army or the British Government. One talks about the nationalisation of the country's Government or army. One talks of power being transferred. The question therefore is not one of Indianisation but of transfer of power and authority controlling that power. If the Executive Council of the Viceroy consisted of Indians of his choice under the present circumstances, it would make no difference to the seat of power. But if representatives who are responsible to others are chosen completely that means an independent responsible Government, and the Viceroy fades out.

Amplifying this point further, he stated, that parliamentary activity meant nothing unless there was a responsible parliament functioning. Mere going to the Central Assembly, delivering speeches, or asking questions is functioning in parliament but whether it is desirable or not is another question. We must not delude ourselves by such vague phrases. But to me this kind of activity is entirely ineffective and unjustified and not in fitness with the general policy of the Congress at the present moment.

The present policy of the Congress is, not 100% but largely, one of non-co-operation. But if you have followed the various movements conducted by the Congress during the last twenty years or so, you will have some picture of what that means. When we were not doing anything effective or taking any action, we have allowed the opposition to function but it does not now fit in.

Referring to the Constituent Assembly, Panditji said that there was a lot of misunderstanding. 'I cannot conceive of an organisation or a minority saying that in certain matters which it considers important the will of the majority should not prevail against its own wishes. In such cases either there is agreement between the so-called majority and the so-called minority in the Constituent Assembly or there is disagreement. There question then arises as to how to meet that disagreement. To say that an attempt should not be made by the representatives of the country even to find a basis of agreement seems entirely unjustified. As for the British Government, they have succeeded in creating by their own misguided policy so many knots and tangles in India, so that they have got themselves tied up in all of them. It is not for me to suggest how they should unite themselves.

Asked whether the minority should be given separate or joint electorate in the Constituent Assembly, Pandit Nehru said: "Every minority which has a separate electorate at present and desires to have it, should have it."

Asked how far the country had gained from satyagraha movement, he said: "It is very difficult to weigh moral issues. The fundamental thing behind the satyagraha movement during the past 22 years has been strengthening the Indian people. I think it has succeeded in ample measure, not only in so far as Congressmen are concerned but even those who may not be in the Congress. In a sense India has gained tremendously by it. Further it has put forward before the world a method of peaceful struggle, which, though it may fall into error owing to human frailty is undoubtedly a great evolution in the world of thought and action.

"In the present instance I feel that the satyagraha movement has enabled us to maintain the self-respect and dignity of India, to prevent the demoralisation which a passive submission to a foreign authority brings in and to impress the world not only with Indian demand for freedom but also with the value of peaceful technique of struggle while inhuman war goes on in a great part of the world."

VIII

No Sympathy With Hitler

Bombay, Jan. 3, 1942

"We have no sympathy with Hitler. We are under no delusion that he will give us our freedom. We know that our freedom cannot be a gift, either

from Britain or from Hitler. Thanks to Britain we may not be able to oppose the aggressor by force of arms but we will never submit either to the rule of Hitler or Japan. It is therefore futile to hold out such threats to us. It is equally futile to suggest that because of such possibilities we must hug our slavery."

Pandit Nehru said that it was being reiterated that war was at India's door and voices were raised asking the people to prepare for war. But the general public were not hustled nor were they in panic. They were in the role of spectators, looking on at a great show. He was surprised to find that so great a nation as Britain, whose people had shown such incredible capacity for courage and sacrifice, should have displayed towards India an attitude worthy of contempt. British policy was involving the people in all kinds of complications and as they united one knot, they made two.

Panditji declared that there could be no difference between the Working Committee and Mahatmaji on the fundamental issue of freedom. He refuted the idea that there was any dissension in Congress ranks or that there was any parting of ways with Mahatmaji.

IX

The Pace Of Events

(Bombay, Jan. 5, 1942)

" Mr. Edward Thompson is a valued friend who has stood for India's freedom and helped to put our cause before his countrymen. His advice must command consideration. But I must say that the suggestion made in his letter to the ' Daily Herald ' of London ignores the real situation in India. In India and elswhere the pace of events during the past two years has made a tremendous difference to the people's minds, and none of us even if we so willed, can ignore this solid background of reality. We are not functioning like the legendary ascetics but are trying to come to grips with the reality of to-day and the coming reality of to-morrow. It is the British Government which lives in the yesterdays that are no more. Not only in India but in regard to everything else, they stick to the old ruts, and the world advances and changes, leaving them behind. Just as war to-day requires novel and aggressive tactics in order to be effective, even more so do other major problems of to-day and the picture of the peace that we hanker after requires, novel and aggressive methods and capacity to take risks. It is not enough to be on the defensive, to seek to maintain the old and the out-of-date, for that is already doomed. To stick to it is to catch the infection of decay. Mr. Thompson advices us to ignore the British Government and go ahead. This sounds very brave but it is not clear what it means in terms of the present. As far as I can see a country cannot go ahead in the way he desires, so long as that country is bound hand

and foot by an authoritarian Government. Every effort that is made brings it into conflict with that Government. Full freedom is essential for it to function effectively.

It appears there is a great deal of mis-apprehension in London press as regards the Bardoli resolution. It is imagined that there has been a break with Mahatmaji. There has been none and there can be no break with him ; for he represents the mind and heart of our people as no one else can. We may differ from him as we have done in the past as regards particular matters and his leadership. The bonds that tie us to him are not going to snap.

X

Volunteer Organisation

(Allahabad, Jan. 7, 1942)

Pandit Nehru stressed the necessity of creating a volunteer organisation for helping the citizens in case of any emergency arising out of war conditions. He suggested that Congress workers should at once establish contact with the masses. The organisation need not consist of Congress members alone and the volunteers were not required to wear any particular uniform, though it would be better if they wore as far as possible, only Khadi. Though Congressmen could not join any official A. R. P. Organisation, they could observe instructions which might be issued by them for the benefit of the citizens. He stressed the need of public co-operation in encouraging village industries so that people might not find themselves helpless in case the war situation led to a dislocation of the mill industries.

XI

Do Not Get Panicky

(Wardha Jan. 18, 1942)

" Students should study politics and current events and be prepared to play their part well in the national struggle and national reconstruction, like English students leaving aside their studies to defend their motherland.

" Do not run away when villages and towns are being bombed but help the victims and conduct them to safe places and face any eventuality courageously. Do not get panicky as it weakens our morale, as it did in Holland, Belgium, etc., who surrendered, in spite of big armies. Stand at the duty post : organise volunteers. Strengthen the Congress. Secure the help of non-Congressmen, if available, for meeting the imminent crisis which is approaching owing to the Japanese menace. Increase our strength to meet the enemy and for winning freedom. Carry out the Congress constructive programme and follow the Congress.

XII

Congress Constructive Programme

(Benares, Jan. 23, 1942)

The correlation of the Congress constructive programme to the requirements of the masses arising out of the war conditions is the most imminent task before Congressmen. There was in evidence a progressive shrinkage of the country's economic and commercial activity, and it was the business of Congressmen to mitigate the resulting distress as best as they could. He warned businessmen against cornering foodstocks with a view to collecting prospective profits in regard to community's immediate requirements that may lead to their being deprived of any returns at all against the stocks.

Mahatmaji had decided upon the suspension of satyagraha even before Bardoli, said Panditji, and added that the basis of the movement had not been widened because the conditions created by war required conservation of nation's energy to be later utilised profitably. Now is the time when the continuation of satyagraha is harmful. At a time like the present when we know that the danger might be imminent in the case of Assam, which may be bombed, it would be preposterous and cruel to advice people to offer anti-war satyagraha. They do not need that advice but an assurance of courage and sympathy and instructions backed by action so as how best to meet the situation.

Certain quarters are at pains to make out that the Congress does not side with any of the belligerants, in the war, but it would resist aggression from whichever quarter it came and would show no quarter to any of them should they dare to attempt invasion. Congress would resist such aggression with all the means at its command and would have no tacit or express co-operation with the aggressor.

XIII

World Federation

(Gorakhpur, Feb, 2, 1942)

Pandit Nehru reiterated his faith in the establishment of peace in the world only when all the nations in the world become independent and they are grouped together in a world federation constituted of smaller federations of nations.

He believed that the present war could not continue longer than 2 years, but before it came to an end it would have worked mighty changes and in the end brought about a revolution.

The war, he asserted, was bound to create a new world. He did not think that any big invasion from any side was likely.

So far as the Congress was concerned it would resist in its own way any power which would dare to invade India. The problem before them was as to how they could establish 'sangathan' and

guard the country against internal disorder. They had to quell internal differences and stop communal fanaticism for good.

He wondered how the Muslim League talked of partitioning India and forming a separate Muslim block when some Islamic countries which were separate Muslim blocks had lost their freedom. Those who talk of such partition had closed their eyes and ears to the happenings in the world and had refused to take lesson from the war.

Although there was no possibility of big invasion of India, the war had come to the very gates of India and Indians had to keep themselves prepared for it. He asked the people not to get panicky or they would lose their strength. The war had already started affecting them and would continue to do so. Things were selling much dearer. In the near future due to curtailment of goods trains it might grow difficult for them to get supplies of their requirements in foodstuffs and clothes even from other places in India. He, therefore, urged that three or four villages should join together and produce foodstuffs, clothes and other articles or requirements enough to spare for towns and cities. The Congress had already been vigorously urging the use of " charkha " but if Indians did not realise its importance to-day, they were doomed to serious difficulties. He urged the organisation of home industries which would not only meet their necessary requirements but decrease the pressure on land.

The public had also to guard against internal disorder. They must organise volunteer corps on a sound footing not to quarrel with the Government or to perform military drills but for the sake of Sangathan. Each village should have a responsible person who would look to these constructive works and keep the Congress in touch with the conditions of the villagers, could give them sound advice and could allay panic.

XIV

Healthy Differences

(*Wardha, Jan. 15, 1942*)

Pandit Nehru said that he agreed with every word of the resolution. Since the Working Committee passed it at Bardoli a fortnight ago, so much had been said about it that there remained little for him to add. Various persons had criticised it for various reasons but Panditji asserted that there was nothing in it with which any member of the A. I. C. C. whatever his views could disagree. Some confusion, however, had arisen from Mahatmaji's letter to the Congress President and Working Committee resolution relieving Mahatmaji of responsibility for leading the Satyagraha movement. Recently frequent references had been made to the differences and the " Groups " in the Working Committee, and with one of the " groups " his (Nehru's) name had also been associated. Panditji humorously added he might divulge a secret and tell them that

there were not only two or thtee groups but as many as fifteen groups (fifteen is the personnel of the Working Committee). Pandit Nehru said that it was a healthy sign that there must be differences of opinion. **He said that the time had passed when they could view the world's situation through London's eyes. Now Indian voice had some weight. At this late stage the talk of coming to terms with the British Government was out of question. With a long story of grievances and injustices behind them, there could be no love between India and Britain.** The relations between India and Britain had been unhappy. There could be no hope of any settlement with Britain. Britain seems blind to the realities of the situation. So long as India was not free, one could not dream of a settlement. May be that free India will throw her weight on the side of those countries with whom Britain may be in agreement, but that did not mean a settlement with Britain. She had lost her opportunity of a settlement two years ago.

He ridiculed the idea of returning to parliamentary activity. Who knew what would happen in the next 6 months ? In the face of these uncertain conditions their real work lay in the country—the organising of every province, town, village and ward for every eventuality, raising volunteers to preserve order and protect the people. There was plenty of work before them to do. The constructive programme would keep their hands full, preparing the country to be self-sufficient.

He said that if India experienced actual war it would help them to understand the world much better. He declared, "I am not prepared perpetually to remain under British subjection out of mere fear of the Japanese or the German aggression. The Congress had preached against it for the last 20 years and it cannot go back upon its policy now."

XV

Freedom First

(Cawnpore, Feb, 8, 1942)

"We cannot shut our eyes to the bloodshed that is going on all over the world, and to the loss of human lives which was taking place on account of the present war." Pandit Nehru said that India was not responsible for the good of any other country. The first concern of Indians was to see that their country was free.

"India's premier organisation had rightly expressed its sympathies towards other countries like China and Russia but now the first question before them was the freedom of India. And India would not yield to British imperialism. In case India was free, she would have decided by her own will to move side by side with Britain. But at this stage the country had no other alternative but to fight with all those who tried to keep her in slavery. He

added that he totally disliked Nazi rule. Britain had made India incapable of defence. In the event of India being attacked by any fereign country she would resist. She was both to oppose all until she was free. He further pointed out that India would have developed industrially if she was free but the British Government never allowed her to industrialise and placed handicaps in her way."

He urged the A.I.T.U.C. to take decisions on matters which affected the working class. He was of the opinion that any decision taken against the will of the country would create divisions and prove disasterous.

XVI

The Rule Of Masses

(*New Delhi, Feb. 11, 1942.*)

"India will not accept any other rule, Japanese or German, but only the rule of the masses of India." Pandit Nehru said that we would not bend before any power and would face any aggression, whatever might come to threaten us. Welcoming Madame and General Chiang-Kai-Shek and his colleagues Panditji said, "I only feel one thing, that we are not in a postition to accord a reception such as we would wish to, as we are not free." On the arrival of Generalissimo in Delhi, I found a whisper that we are going to change our policy, but this is not a fact. Our decisions are made after mature thought: we never decide anything in a hurry. Responsible bodies can never decide anything in a hurry, or without going into details, as the fate of millions of our countrymen is behind such decision.

"The world is passing through an ocean of revolution and nobody knows what is going to happen to it at the end. Nobody knew if the coming changes would be for good or for the worse, but it was certain they would never shirk their responsibility, but would take the reins of power in their hands any time, in whatever condition they might be."

"We could never afford to forget our discipline and run away when any trouble comes."

XVII

India And Russia

(*Lucknow, Feb. 22, 1942*)

"Our problems in India to-day are the same as those that faced Russia some years ago; and they can be solved in the same manner in which Russians solved theirs. We should draw a lesson from the U.S.S.R. in the way of industrialising and educating our country." Panditji observed that Indians could also go ahead and make considerable headway towards improving the lot of their countrymen only if they were free to do so as they thought fit. Russia though very much different from India had the same problems to face but they were able to make remarkable progress after

the famous revolution, only because they were free to decide their own fate. It was the result of that foundation that Russia, only Russia of so many countries of Europe, invaded by Germany in the present war—was not only able to face the invaders but had checked them and had thrust their attack back. This was so because their economic structure had a very strong foundation which could withstand such an onslaught. Similarly, China had withstood the ouslaught for five years while several other nations had gone out of existence within the last two and a half years. He regretted that India was not given the scope to develop to its full stature. He said that they were in the midst of a revolution—a great revolution which will affect not one or two countries but all the countries of the world including India, and the Chinese and Russian cultures and civilisations were bound to influence the Indian economic structure. It was not merely the soldiers' war, it was a fight between certain forces, and assuming for a moment there was a temporary victory of arms, that won't last; no one could escape the forces, they had to be faced squarely and unitedly.

He firmly believed that the three countries—India, China and Russia—with all their differences would not at a distant date be bound in ties of closer friendship than hitherto. They had many things in common and their problems were similar to a large extent.

In their long history China and India had never any war between them. They had no liking for useless fighting. They were all peace loving. Pandit Nehru forecast closer ties of friendship between them in near future.

XVIII

The World Revolution

(*Lucknow, Feb. 24, 1942*)

An appeal to the students to prepare themselves for the future struggle, for which a proper understanding was absolutely essential was made by Panditji.

Panditji said that the world was passing through a revolution which had touched every corner of the globe. The last war was in fact a signal for such a revolution, but that failed to bring about a solution of the world problems. The world would remain in virtual disorder so long as those problems remained unsolved and the Governments of countries which failed to solve such problems, were sure to march towards ruin and disaster. He believed that the efforts to solve such problems were misdirected. Even America had failed to solve the question of unemployment and there were nearly one crore thirty thousand persons without work in that country. He thought that there was

something definitely wrong in the whole structure. The world was bound to undergo one violent change, namely, the disparity between the rich and the poor would disappear. He said that in future there could be no big empires and the only thing possible was a World Federation. England could not hold India for ever.

Alluding to China, he said, that China was the bulwark of Allied Powers in the far east. Her strength could well be gauged from her stubborn resistance to Japan over such a long period.

XIX

Let Us Be Brave

(*Calcutta, Feb. 21, 1942*)

"Let us be brave, take courage from the example of Chinese brothers and sisters and face any oppressor, any aggressor, face any person who dares to think in terms of oppressing and dictating to India."

"Let us preserve our unity, forget our petty differences, work under the programme that has been put forward by the Congress, build it up, and see that its structure is kept intact.

"I have come this time to Calcutta on a very special mission as you know, because Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-shek and Madame Chiang happened to come to Calcutta. I wanted very much to be of such service to them as I could be while they were on the Indian soil. It was a sorrow to me, and I have no doubt to you, that their visit to India to which we have looked forward so much and which has been a great honour to us, should have taken place in such circumstances, and that many of you have been unable to see them, even from a distance.

" We should like to honour them and through them China, which they have led so magnificently. We have failed to honour them in public and in many other ways. Nevertheless, it has been a great honour to India, and it has been, I think, something that will affect, if I may say so, the history of India and China. It has really been a historic visit, historic in the sense that it will mark a new epoch in the relations of India and China. For my part, for long years I have dreamt that India and China should hold together in present and in future, and I went to Chungking with the hope in mind ; and when I got there I found that the leaders of China were anxious themselves to develop the relations between India and China. I rejoiced and I was happy because I saw the future, in which India and China would go hand in hand. I am quite definite that there could be no peace or solution of the world problems unless the problem of India and China were

solved because primarily India and China are huge parts of the earthes surface and they comprise nearly half the total population of the world. There can be no solution of the world's problems—economic or political—unless India's and China's problems are solved."

Referring to Marshal Chiang, Panditji said: "He is a remarkable man and has proved himself a very great leader and captain in war. He is the one of very few names that will stand out very prominently in the world to-day. Far greater as a captain in war, he has proved himself as a leader of men. To-day if you go to China you will find no group or individual who will not agree in one thing, that is, that Marshal Chiang-kai-Shek, is not only a very great leader but the only leader China could have."

Referring to Madame Chiang, Pandit Nehru said that this great consort of the Marshal had not only been his partner in life's journey, but had been a fellow warrior with him, who had donned armour to stand side by side with him in China's battle for freedom. She had become the symbol of China's invincibility and her magnificient spirit of resistance. It had been an honour to India to have them here in the city. Those who had been fortunate to meet them would not forget them and their cause. I feel convinced in my heart that we shall stand shoulder to shoulder and shall render whatever help we can to each other in the furtherance of that cause. To-day you raised slogans. I myself have shouted slogans, and I shout them even now and will shout them in future, but to-day the only slogan, which is the right slogan, is the bursting of bombs which will drown all your slogans. How are you going to meet this ?

"What is happening in the world to-day? Proud empires are falling before our eyes, huge structures of Governments are collapsing. No one knows what will happen in the course of next six months. No one knows when this war will end. No part of the world can escape the war. The question is: how to face it ? We cannot face it by cursing this man or that.

Long before this war started, the National Congress had declared its policy in regard to Fascism and aggression. "Do you think we are likely to change our opinion because Germany and Japan are the foes of Britain ? We have always said that we would neither have British imperialism nor any other type of imperialism, Fascism or Nazism. Do not fall into that terrible error that in order to get rid of one we should ask the aid of the other. Therein lies danger, and if any one of us thinks like that then he is a coward and a slave. Why should we think in terms of some outsider ruling India? We must measure all these danger, and take a vow not to bow before them.

XX

If India Was Invaded

(Calcutta, Feb. 22, 1942)

"Generally speaking, Mr. Churchill is a brilliant leader, but his mind is the Victorian mind. The British Government in Mr. Churchill's leadership is brilliant in the sense that it has kept the morale of the British people, but it is a dead weight in the sense of the real psychological leadership of the world."

Speaking on the international situation, Panditji said that it meant many important problems which included India's reaction to it and what India could do with regard to it. It was important that they should think of the war not merely in military terms, in terms of arms or efficient armies. This would be an extremely limited view. They were going through a very big revolution in the world's history—perhaps the biggest the world has ever seen. He remembered that since the last war there must have been as many as 120 international conferences, trying to solve the world, problems. They, however, did not succeed in solving even certain parts of those problems, although the biggest statesmen of the world met together. It was because they wanted to retain the old structure. Ultimately, the war came on. Panditji pointed out that many in the country, particularly socialists and communists, considered the problems facing them to-day more or less in an academic way. They ought to take a realistic view of what was happening before them and adjust the socialist principles of other countries to the conditions prevailing in India.

Explaining the duty of Congress workers and volunteers with regard to A.R.P. and civil defence measures, Panditji said that when air-raids took place, the Congress workers should carry on their work of creating a sense of security in the minds of the people. They could and should co-operate with other organisations or groups working for the same end. He stressed the need of unity among all sections of the people. Referring to women workers he said that they should go and meet other womenfolk and make them less panicky. He asked everyone to be ready at the present moment to meet the situation with courage and confidence.

He for one did not believe that the British Government will concede India's demand. The problem before them, Panditji said, was what they were going to do if India was invaded. The responsibility in this respect lay on the Government, but they knew what kind of Government they had. Then the question was : what should the people do? The statement issued by the Congress at the beginning of the war, initiating its policy in this connection, was in the right direction. Its first and foremost aim was India's independence. The old attitude of British Government towards India's demand still continued. That was regrettable no doubt.

They must not look to any outside foreign help. They must rely on their own inherent strength to achieve independence. The pages of Indian history bore testimony to the fact how the lure of outside help had brought India slavery. The story of imperialist venture of Japan and Germany was not unknown to them. Indians must stick to their own ideals even if they were difficult of achievement. But whatever happened, India would not bow down her head before any invader.

The Indian National Congress had repeatedly declared that if power were transferred to the people of this country, they would be responsible for their own defence. But the British politicians were still persisting in their blunders. If they had listened to the Congress two and a half years ago, the situation of the world would now have been different. They were prepared to take the responsibility even now. They might not be able to do things they could have done before. But if that responsibility came they would not shirk it.

An advice to the students to think deeply and prepare themselves to meet the perils and difficulties arising out of the present crisis, was given by Panditji.

He said when he heard the shouts of ' Inqilab Zindabad ' he often wondered if they realised that the ' Inqilab ' that they shouted was over them, above them, below them and it might overwhelm them. The biggest ' Inqilab ' was happening in the world and it might happen in India. The point was : were they ready to welcome the storm that was coming upon them ? It might upset their whole life and life of the community. If they were really serious about it, they should prepare for it.

For four and a half year there had been ' Inqilab ' in China in the fullest measure. Almost all the biggest universities were razed to the ground, students suffered, many of the teachers and students were killed, many of the teachers and students escaped and wandered through the country. In the Hinterland of China, they started new universities in bamboo huts in the course of two or three weeks. When he visited the ' Bamboo Universities ' in China, he felt the power of new China.

During the last two years, great nations have collapsed like a house of cards. What China did during these years would astonish them. Their tremendous achievements were due to the enormous vitality and spirit of the people. Had we in India got that vitality and that spirit ?

" Whatever happened let us play our great part as men and women of India. If we can do so, all will be well.

XXI

The Face of the Earth has Changed

(New Delhi, April 6, 1942. Reception at Kerala Club)

The unity of India which we shall fight for was stressed by Pandit Nehru. He said that the problems of Indian States could not be treated as of secondary importance and could not be left out simply because the British Government had entered into treaties with certain persons who were dead long ago. The larger interests of India could not leave Indian States aside. The Indian States as constituted to-day were a relic of 150 years ago. During this period the face of earth had changed. There had been two major revolutions, one in France and the other in Russia. But the conditions in the Indian States had remained much the same. One thing was certain, he said, that certain political and economic conditions which existed to-day would not continue and new adjustments would have to be made. As for the treaties, Government had torn up many other treaties, and any treaty which went against human interests and human rights would also have to go. The present war itself would change the face of the earth. Referring to the Government of India, Pandit Nehru said, that persons constituting it did not realise that a war was on. The way it functioned and the way it dealt with problems did not indicate that it was aware of the present. It was not solving old problems but creating new problems for solution. India would have to go through enormous sacrifices and sufferings. They had to pay the price for the future. But they would have to judge the future by the conditions prevailing in states. They could not ignore them.

He stressed the essential unity of India. This unity was not only for British India but also for Indian states. He said that we are going to fight for this unity and would not permit the disruption of India. India was going to be one in freedom. He emphasised the need of self-help and said that they could not make any progress, if they were going to wait for help from others.

XXII

Oppose Foreign Invasion

(New Delhi, April 7, 1942)

" I consider it my duty to oppose any foreign invasion of India. How can I remain a mere spectator of events or be silent. The news of Japanese bombing of coastal towns of India must stir the hearts of Indians. The Japanese assertion that they were coming to India to set us free was absurd and wholly false. That was clear from Japan's misdeeds in China and Korea." He advised the Indian people not to get panicky and not to rush from place to place, but to remain where they were and to organise themselves, determined to oppose the aggressor. The Congress he declared had made clear its sympathy with the democracies, and its opposition to the aggres-

sor countries, Japan no less than Germany. Praising the heroic and magnificent fight put up by China and Russia, and the sacrifices made by them to preserve their independence, Panditji asserted that it would be a distressing world if China and Russia were defeated. He had, however, great confidence that these two powers would play a great part in the future and India would stand shoulder to shoulder with them. He observed that the problem of India's independence had now become a world problem. Various countries, especially America, China and Russia, were taking great interest in Indian affairs.

" We shall face the future with confidence and achieve independence." he declared.

XXIII

The Dark Forces

(*Calcutta, April 18, 1942*)

" It is not a noble outlook to welcome an aggressor. On the contrary, we must harass him and embarrass him in every way." Pandit Nehru said that the attitude of the Congress regarding the war was that of non-belligerency and not exactly neutral. The Congress, he said, decidedly regarded the forces represented by Germany and Japan as dark forces, which, if victorious, would lead to a permanent slavery of India. " It would be proper if the state could organise a mass opposition, but in the present circumstances, he thought that various courses, one shading into the other, might be adopted by the people with a view to embarrass the invading army.

Concluding, he said that he did not know what to do, but was moving, impelled by a sense of restlessness, feeling oppressed with the idea that while India was being attacked by the enemy, and America, Britain and others were taking part, he himself felt helpless.

XXIV

Face All Eventualities

(*Calcutta, April 19, 1942 Addressing Congress workers at Howrah*)

" The policy of the Forward Bloc, which is opposed to that of the Congress, must be considered carefully in the light of the present situation. While he had no doubts about the *bonafides* of the workers of Forward Bloc, nevertheless, the members of the Forward Bloc always went against the Congress and tried to lower the Congress. He pointed out that only in Bengal the Forward Bloc was found but outside the province the name of the Bloc was not heard. He held that the only policy helpful under the present circumstances was the Congress policy.

Advising the Congress workers to keep the interests of the country in forefront, Panditji said, referring to the war, that they

had their difference with the British Government, but at the moment, they could not embarrass it. On the contrary, they should build up the spirit of the people to face all eventualities. Referring to the danger zones, he urged the people not to leave their posts of duty; he pointed out that to run away through fear, showed weakness, which was very bad on the part of the people. Nobody should be thought of as weak at this critical time, not even a woman.

War, if it came, would not be confined to the danger zone alone. If lakhs of people flew away from places declared to be danger zones, half of them would die of starvation, hunger and pestilence. They would be serving the cause of the country by sticking to their post.

XXV

Perish—Rather than Submit

(Calcutta April 25, 1942—Press Conference)

" We are going to make no approach to the British Government and we shall face our problems and perils with such wisdom and endurance as we may have."

" We shall prefer to perish rather than submit to an arrogant imperialism or a new invader. If Sir Cripps thinks that the position in India has improved by his visit, he is grievously mistaken. The gulf is great to-day than ever before. It is true that events are compelling us to think of what we shall do to meet them, but whatever we may do we will have nothing to do with the question of co-operating with the British efforts in India. Indeed to talk of co-operation is in itself a misnomer. What is meant is subservice. We can only co-operate as free men and a free National Government with those who acknowledge as such.

" Sir Stafford has said, we shirk responsibility. That is a curious charge when the responsibility we sought was denied to us. Certainly we are not excited with the heavy responsibility of running canteens and stationery shops, etc., which we were told we could have for the defence minister ?" Pandit Nehru added that Sir Stafford had made it even more clear than before that there is no common ground between the British Government and the Congress. " It surprises me that the British Government should still talk in its old pre-war patronising language and try to pose to the world that it is a kind of arbitration in India. They do not appreciate that the world has changed and that India and the world will change still further without awaiting the approval and consent of the British War Cabinet. As the position of the British Government is being made clear, it is right that the position of the Congress should also be clearly understood.

XXVI

A Call to the People of India

(Calcutta April 19, 1942.—Addressing Indian Journalists Association)

A call to the people of India to eschew a complascent attitude of mind, and to cultivate a spirit of resistance to any aggressor, who might attempt to invade the soil of India was given by Pandit Nehru. He deprecated the idea of embarrassing the Government at the present moment by obstructing the war efforts as that would amount to encouraging the enemy in the present circumstances.

Pandit Nehru said that he had been asked for advice as to what the people in Bengal should do in the matter of their defence. It was very difficult to lay down any positive line of action, but it seemed to him obvious that on no account must they submit or surrender to any aggressor or invader. Therefore, it followed that they must train the peoples' mind in the attitude of no surrender and no submission. They must bear in mind that any foreign army that came, in whatever guise and with whatever profession, was after all a foreign army which tried to make a home for themselves in India and if once they established themselves in the country it would be very difficult to deal with them or dislodge them easily in future. It was undesirable psychologically to think in terms of a foreign army giving freedom. It was a weak nation's way of looking at things that a foreign army would make them free. It was a slave's way of looking at things that an invading army would liberate the country.

Positively what could they do for the defence of the country? On the one hand they had deliberately divorced themselves from the State apparatus. They could not join it for many reasons. So they had to keep apart. But by keeping apart what could they positively do for the defence of the country. In fact, so far as the military areas of operation were concerned, they could not do anything, and it was the military which operated there. After all in a huge country like India these areas would be limited. It was easy to overwhelm countries like Belgium, but as India like China, was a country of vast spaces, outside the immediate areas of armed conflict, much could be done by the people by non-co-operation. He could not enter into details because it was the Congress which would lay down the policy. The policy had to be shaped according to the exigencies of circumstances. One policy might be good in a particular area and a different policy might have to be pursued in another distant part of the country.

They must try to organise their village and town units and make them self-sufficient and self-protective, and that was the present Congress programme. Whatever policy they might pursue, aggressive non-co-operation or passive, these units would help them

in preventing panic and controlling the situation, and providing any lack of food, etc. This programme would bring to the people a spirit of self-reliance. And if this programme was really worked out, that would provide a tremendous basis for any action that the nation might decide to undertake, whatever policy the Government might adopt.

He realised that in Bengal it was very difficult for them, in the existing circumstances, to work out this programme because the province was more or less a military area. Bengal's difficulties were, therefore, far greater than the difficulties in other provinces. Nevertheless he would suggest that that programme should be intensively worked.

In India, Panditji said, that it was absurd to call this war people's war and it would be equally absurd to call it an imperialistic war. It is a war ultimately for each country that was involved in it for survival. The only exception was perhaps the United States of America, so that to stick a label on it and decide their course of action accordingly is absurd. Personally, he was moved by his antipathy to Nazi Germany, Japan and Fascism, and sympathy for Russia and China. But after all in the ultimate analysis he was moved by a strong sense of survival for India. That was the only test for him. The people of India could only function from the narrow point of view of self preservation and self-survival, whatever might be his personal opinion about larger issues.

They might non-co-operare with the British. But to-day the question of non-co-operation with the British in that sense did not arise, because non-co-operation to-day inevitably, meant an invitation to Japan to come to India. It meant enormous help to Japan. The Congress could have obstructed the war effort in India if it wanted to. But the Congress did not deliberately do so. To do that when invasion threatened them might have the result of helping another power which they did not want to do.

To-day they had to face naked realities. Old slogans were of no avail in the present circumstances. In this changing situation they had to change their attitude and policy fundamentally, of course keeping the freedom of India, and defence and security of India before them always. He could not give them any detailed advice as to the course of action that they should follow. But it would be utterly wrong for them to allow any mentality of subservience or surrender to an invader to grow. He should like the Indian people even apart from the Government, to do all they could to defend their country. But the fact stared them in the face, that unless the state and the people's organisation merged together, the people by themselves could not do much. In fact the state organisation would intervene if they try to organise defence by

themselves. Therefore in the present circumstances it was not a practical proposition. But it might be a practical proposition in the changing fortunes of the war. Therefore they should try to organise the people through their self-sufficient and self-protective programme to deal with any changing situation and even to face the situation when the burden fell upon them in their local areas.

Referring to the evacuees problem, he strongly criticised the manner in which the problem had been handled by the Indian Government and the Government in Burma, who had betrayed an utter lack of understanding of the requirements of the situation.

He also criticised the manner in which censorship was exercised with regard to the publication of news in Indian Press.

XXVII

Time is Valuable

(*Amritsar, May 23, 1942*)

"I want that no foreign power should set its foot on the Indian soil. Although unarmed, we can still harass the enemy and he should not be able to obtain his supply of food. All this requires unity and solidarity. This is not the time for us to be mere spectators. Time is a valuable factor. We should remove our differences. A compromise is far better than strike but there can be no compromise so long as we are slaves."

Those who shouted 'Inqilab, Zindabad', said Pandit Nehru, seldom realised its import; they did not know that a tremendous revolution was taking place in the world. It was an hour of trial for everybody. Countries were being wiped out of existence. Imperialism was tottering. Under the circumstances mere shouting of slogans was hardly? We had to see how far we were prepared for freedom for which we had been crying for a long time.

XXVIII

Discard Differences

(*Preet Nagar, Lahore, May 24, 1942*)

Panditji said that he was asked to visit Preet Nagar when he was last in Punjab, two years ago. He could not then avail of the invitation. He was very much touched and attracted by what he had heard and read about Preet Nagar and it was his desire that he should pay a visit to this place. He was considerably impressed with the basic principles for which the society stood and was of the view that most of India's problems would resolve themselves if people could set up such institutions throughout the country. He would like the noble example set by Preet Nagar to be followed everywhere in India.

Pandit Nehru deplored the fact that religion was being exploited in India by self-seeking, and misguided persons to create communal differences and foment trouble. As far as he had understood them, the residents of Preet Nagar had freedom of worship, but with them religion was truly a matter between them and God. That was why they could not construct a Gurdwara, a mosque or a temple inside the nagar. He was not aware whether this could or would happen in the whole of India, but one thing was quite clear that many of the communal difficulties in India had originated from Temples, Gurdwaras and Mosques, which were meant to be the abode of God and intended to spread peace and tranquillity in the country. An ' Inqilab ' was in the offing, but what it would be like, nobody could foresee. Anyhow they should steel their hearts, for whatever would be in store for them. The next few years would decide the fate of India.

He assured them that the picture of Preet Nagar would remain ever green in his memory.

XXIX

Warning To The Government

Jhansi, May 29, 1942

Panditji gave a warning to the Government to desist from pursuing a repressive policy. He said that for sometime Mahatmaji had been writing strong articles and his attitude was growing stiffer. Mahatmaji was warned of the Government attitude of repression and treatment meted out to Indians in Burma and Malaya. Neither Mahatmaji nor the Congress wanted to pick quarrels and start satyagraha, but how could Mahatmaji sit on the fence when the Government's attitude and policy were stiffening.

"I wish to warn the Government that if it pursues its repressive policy, we will resist. If the Government will follow a repressive policy in a certain province and try to break the morale of the people, that will resist it tooth and nail.

"We are placed in a dilemma. If we oppose the Government and carry the fight against it, we will invite Japan in our country. The Government does not want our real co-operation on honourable terms. It is following the same old methods. In this difficult situation, the Congress has tried to guide the people, and latest resolution of the All-India Congress Committee, urged on us to become self-efficient and self-sufficient, and oppose the aggressor by non-violence and non-co-operation. Some people ridicule the idea of opposing Japan by non-violence and non-co-operation but they do not realise that the Congress has not advised the armed forces to adopt this weapon. It is intended for the civil population only. Armed forces can be stopped by armed might, I admit but what will the civil population do in the event of the defeat of the armed forces? The civil population has not received any training in armed warfare.

Will the population welcome the Japanese? This is the only effective weapon with us."

Regarding internal defence, Panditji said that well-organised units should be formed in every central town and village, who in the event of weakening of the British hold in any part of the country, may shoulder responsibilty for internal defence and provide necessities of life to the people.

"There is no doubt that we cannot do much, but if the civil population is organised it can interfere with the supplies reaching the Japanese hands in the event of attack and help the armies fighting against the enemy in many ways. We must also form and strengthen the National Volunteer Corps, so that they may, in an organised way, maintain law and order.

"We have been opposing British rule in India actively for many years. We must still oppose it and I will fight against it till the last breath of my life. But to consider the German or Japanese as our friends, because they are also fighting against the British is sheer cowardice. The British have not alone monopolised this war. There are other powerful countries fighting this war against the Axis powers, but besides powerful countries, great principles, are at stake. Therefore, we must see things in a clear perspective. We cannot see Russia and China defeated, and the principles for which they are fighting being destroyed. We have for the last ten years opposed Japanese aggression against China, and if we do not raise our voice for China, and if we do not raise our voice against Japan, we will betray the cause which we espouse. If the internal situation had not been so complicated, we would have fought successfully against the Government. Imperialism is tottering and it will vanish like a house of cards. But we must see that in our over-eagerness we do not invite new masters in our country. We cannot drown our country for the Japanese entry at any cost.".

XXX

See The Whole Picture

(Allahabad, May I, 1942)

Pandit Nehru said that perhaps the working of the resolution could be improved. But, what mattered was the principle behind the resolution. There was no use indulging in catch-words and catch-phrases like, Imperialism—Fascism and Communism— it would not solve the problem. "We have to bear in mind the awful aspects of the world picture. We have to consider the picture as a whole. People, sometimes, may imagine that I wander away in

nternationalism a little too much, but we have to consider the picture in its entirety. If I wander it is because the affairs of other nations are too much bound with our own. It is not a simple question of India versus England, we have in fact to decide our course and lay down a foreign policy of our own. There should be no sense in blinding ourselves to our differences with Britain. We should not just for that matter like to antagonise the rest of the world. We want one side to win and Britain happens to be on that side. We also feel that the victory of the other side would be disastrous. We have to strike a course between two sentiments. One side is our difference with Britain. On the other side some of us have the fear of the Japanese and the consequences of an axis victory. To think indifferently that the new aggressors would prove better for us or at least not worse would be wrong. Our aim would be to face all aggresssion. Passivity would be dangerous. We are proud of India and have a lot of national self-respect".

"We should so act that our strength and national dignity are enhanced." He also pointed out that Russian defeat would be a great disaster not only for India but also for everybody.

XXXI

The Danger Lurks

(*Bombay, June 25, 1942*)

"The danger lurks in the Anglo-American trade agreement, which has not yet been released in India, that operations of the United Nations Commerical Corporation constitute not only a scandal but a menace to India's export trade, that the Grady recommendations seek to reduce India to the position of raw-material-producing agricultural colony.

Pandit Nehru, as the Chairman of the National Planning Committee urged the Indian commercial community to focus public opinion on these issues and added, "Much has been said about the new deal which has to come into effect after the war. Peace aims and war aims remain undefined. In the political world we know what is happening. What is taking place in the economic sphere is also worth studying, as it appears to be a pointer to what is being contemplated to be brought about after the war. One aspect of the post-war world has not been lost sight of by British interest : this is retention of foreign markets, specially Indian markets for British goods.

"The Eastern Group Supply Council, it is well known, took special care not to encourage any industry in India, which might come into conflict with the British industry after the war. The Government of India, even ignoring the necessities

of war, have discouraged the growth of basic Indian industries. The policy appears to be, as a whole, to retain India as an agricultural country, producing raw materials.

" Much light is thrown on this by Sir Homi Mody, in his answer to correspondents, when discussing the Grady report. He repeated the old libel that India was not suited for industrial development on a big scale. This is a surprising statement from an Indian industrialist but everyone loses his identity in the Indian Government and becomes an automaton. I think every person, who has studied the question, must be convinced that India does not lack anything for rapid industrial development and further that only such development can solve India's problems and raise the standard of living.

" It is difficult to judge the Grady's report without seeing it in full but certain hints in it seem to emphasise that production of raw materials should be a special function of India. Also, we should rather concentrate on repair-shops and not on big production plants. With this, I am sure, Indians will not agree. We are not going to accept the colonial agricultural position. The British policy appears in lurid light specially when we consider the operations of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation in India which is being patronised and helped by the British Government. This corporation apparently enjoys monopoly in trade in certain commodities, it gets high priorities through the supply department and thus controls export trade from India. Incidently it makes heavy profits thus : round about the control price in India is Rs. 12 per Bengal maund, but the U.K.C.C. which enjoys the monoply in sugar buys this Indian sugar and sells it in Iran at Rs. 37 per Bengal maund. This monoply in trade also applies to many other commodities, like wheat, oilseeds, oils, lorry tyres, etc. It appears that Indian firms are compelled to deal through this corporation, now. This is not only a great scandal but also a menace to India's export trade, now and hereafter. It is important that the attention of the public should be drawn to this because it is significant in itself and as an indication of the post-war world that Britain is aiming at.

" The recent Anglo-American trade agreement contains many fine phrases, but looking at it from the point of view of India, danger lurks in it. Again there is a tendency to divide the world into an industrial and manufacturing group on one side and a group of primary raw material producers on the other. Presumably, India is in the latter group. Public opinion must be alive to all these dangers and it must be made clear that on no account India is going to accept the kind of treatment that she got after the last war. The Lease-Lend Act, applied to India now, must be clarified and we must know exactly where we stand in regard to it.

XXXII

India's Fate

(Aligarh, June 30, 1942)

We do not want to be slaves of Japan or Germany. We would fight against any nation which wants to enslave us.

The German and Japan radio announce daily that they are fighting to liberate nations and also want to give independence to India. I do not believe in this. We should never be mislead by these announcements. We are ready to defend our own country.

Declaring about the fate of the country in the near future, Pandit Nehru exhorted the people to consolidate their power, organise volunteer corps, and be ready to help each other.

If we are organised, we would not be afraid of Japan or Germany, but would fight them to the last drop of our blood for the honour and prestige of our country.

Continuing, the speaker said that he wanted to see Kisans in a prosperous condition. He advised them not to attend ceremonies every now and then, but to devote their time to their profession.

You shout the slogan, ' Inqilab Zindabad'. Inqilab is something very certain. By 'Inqilab' our condition might be worse. Many people do not understand what ' Inqilab ' is. You should not just shout the slogan but think what you have to do.

Pandit Nehru then dwelt on the growing influence of the Congress and expressed the conviction that India will achieve ' swaraj and establish relations with other nations too besides England.

XXXIII

Blood for Humanity

Letter to Dr. J. B. Grant, Organiser Calcutta Blood Bank.

" I understand that you have already received the co-operation of many eminent Indians. I am sure if a right approach is made to the public, many more will donate their blood for this humanitarian object. It would be a pity if political and other considerations came in the way of this kind of work. I hope that you will get the co-operation of Indian doctors and hospitals in Calcutta. For my part I would be glad to give my blood for this purpose.

XXXIV

India Must Be Free

(Nagpur, July 4, 1942)

"It is essential that India must be free. This will help China and Russia. Indians at the moment being a subject nation, could not help China. Unless India was free she could not give China any help.

The British profess to be fighting for freedom and democracy. Yet she denied these to the people in her empire. The result was that subjugated people like India developed resentment and hatred towards Britain. That was the reason why Malaya and Burma fell so quickly. If India were given freedom, Indians would fight with the same zeal and enthusiasm as the Chinese and Russians. For a present-day war a nation's full co-operation is essential. The present Government of India could not get that co-operation.

The Government of India continued to follow their peace-time policy of sowing seeds of disunity, which became evident from the Cripps proposals. The Government's discrimination against Indians in the treatment of evacuees caused resentment. As long as the Government was such, he for one could not support such a government. But events were fast moving in the world and India could not remain unaffected. Indians could not sit idle. At the present time it was essential that the British should free India for the protection of the country and for helping China. If only the British Government declared that they would leave the country, India could form a provisional Government in two or there days and then decide on its policy of resisting aggression and helping China.

Unfortunately Mr. Jinnah's whole attention was towards the British Government to do everything for him. The same attitude was being adopted by the Maha Sabha. For the sake of our own freedom and for the good of the world we should decide what we should do now. In the world where revolutionary changes are taking place India could not remain aloof. He wanted India to rise from slumber. Even if 10 to 15 lakh of people were to die, they must be prepared for it.

XXXV

Since Cripps Departed

(Wardhaganj, July 8, 1942—Addressing British and American Press Correspondents).

"The Congress position is very much changed since Sir Cripps departed."

"The Congress is not prepared to accept what it was willing then. The rank and file felt great relief when negotiations failed.

I would have got passive approval of the Congress to the settlement with Cripps, but now it is not possible even to secure a passive approval. Referring to Gandhiji's new movement, he said, " The fundamental way to look at it is how ultimately to increase strength in public. I will not take that step. I cannot give active support to the British Government even if I want after the Burma Chapter." He said that a feeling was prevalent even in the rival areas that the British Government was not serious in defending India. He referred to certain instructions issued to civil administration in Bengal. Pandit Nehru proceeded : "Things are shaping in such a manner that the people are becoming more passive and suddenly submissive. My fear is that if things are allowed to take their course they will get prepared to submit to Japanese."

Pandit Nehru continued : " It is obvious that any step we take against the British Government may be full of perils, but on the other hand not taking any step is still more perilous. We have to chose the lesser evil. It has become highly important to raise the spirit of resistance ultimately to resist the Japanese. By passively submitting to things in India to-day that spirit of resistance is actually crushed. The problem before the Congress is to take such a step and to increase the people's spirit of resistance in such a way so as to avoid creating a situation which might temporarily help Japan or any invader. This may not be possible for the time because the step we propose to take might involve non-submission to British authority, creating further complications, but in whatever we do, our desire and intentions are clean, that we do not wish to injure the cause of China or the defence of India.

XXXVI

The Only Course

(Meerut, July 18, 1942—Public Meet ng in Town Hall)

" The only course open to the country is to fight British Imperialism, in order to increase India's resisting power to fight Fascist aggression. Indians as long as they were under British Government would not fight an aggressor. Therefore, the only course for them was to attain independence and in attaining independence they should grow so much resisting power that they might fight the Japanese and German aggressors to a man and keep their independence intact."

The speaker urged the people to plunge in the tempestuous wave of fight and better get drowned than be inactive. In reply to a question as to what would happen if the British withdrew, the Pandit said, that a national Government on the basis of agreement between different parties would be established, which would carry on the war in alliance if they wished, with the British and the Americans. He asserted that if India was made independent there

would arise tremendous forces which would change the phase of war.

The Congress had always stood for freedom and democracy and in consonance with that policy, it had its sympathy with democratic Spain, China and other wronged countries and people. He accused England of giving a long rope to Germany and Japan by yielding to these dictators hoping that the German might would work against the possibility of Russia being too strong and Japan would work against America becoming too predominant. The Congress had all through been protesting against the British policy of saying good-bye to all her professions. Now they were reaping the fruits of their own sowing. Had English statesmen acted wisely at the proper time, many misfortunes would have been easily avoided. Had they agreed to the Congress demands there would have been great enthusiasm and the country would have played a splendid part in the success of the war.

The Pandit went on to say that the country was in a difficult situation. They did not want the Japanese and would fight and defeat them, but they were helpless, as they could not fight under the present beaurucratic Government, because of the difference in methods and as chattels. Without a truly national Government it was impossible to create the right sort of enthusiasm necessary in a war.

XXXVII

Final Attempt For India's Freedom

(Delhi, July 19, 1942.)

" To-day the world has to face a heavy stir of bloodshed and the war is now knocking at our door. The recent article of Gandhi clearly indicates our intentions how to face this crisis. Though the recent resolution of the Congress Working Committee passed at Wardha is not yet final, and will be placed before the I. A. C. C. for final decision, it is sufficient to show that we have decided to have a dive in this storm, though we do not know the result. But this will be the final attempt for our freedom. We have not decided anything in a hurry, but have considered it in all its aspects. To create a resolution against the slavery of our country is our profession and it should be the duty of everyone to raise his voice against slavery. The Congress had its own principle regarding the background of this war and therefore we raised our voice when Japan invaded China and Italy conquered Abyssinia and we condemned these and other attempts of Hitler and Mussolini. The Working Committe has clearly explained that they do not want to make Japan stronger by starting civil disobedience movement. It is our duty now not to sit silent but fight for the freedom of India.

XXXVIII

Short And Swift

(Allahabad, July 31, 1942.)

Nehru said that the movement was not going to be a long drawn out affair hut it would be short and swift. How short and swift he did not know, because that depended upon the psychological factors. " Ours is not an armed force."

The movement can begin by what we do and can be accelerated by what the Government does. Gandhiji in ' Harijan ' has indicated the steps and the first step may be within a fortnight after the A. I. C. C. meeting. That might be a preparatory step, unless the Government takes such action as might accelerate it.

XXXVIX

Immediate Declaration Of Independence

(Allahabed, July 31, 1942.)

" Without the recognition of our basic standpoint of immediate declaration of independence, any round table conference, as suggested by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru would not be acceptable to us because that would be going back to the old method which had proved a complete failure and every time a trap. The whole conception of having to sit at the feet of power is repugnant to us.

Asked if American and Chinese intervention would be acceptable in the present situation, Pandit said that it would be acceptable but on the basis of the main question of our independence and as Allies and friends.

Asked what value he attached to the declared dis-satisfaction of League, Mahasabha and the depressed classes, to the present stand of the Congress, Panditji said that it would be arrogance on his part to say that he attached no value to it, but he said that he did not attach over much importance to it. He said that there could be no disagreement on the fundamental issue of India's immediate independence. As far the provisional national Government was concerned, it could be of composite nature, representing all the major parties and groups, including the Congress and the Muslim League.

There was no room for negotiation on the question of our independence. Granted that, of course, details are always negotiable between the parties and groups concerned.

XL

Eternal Struggle

(Allahabad, Aug. 1, 1942—Public meetiag on Tilak day)

" Struggle, eternal struggle," that is my reply to Amery and Cripps. India's national self-respect cannot be a matter of bargaining. I am galled with sorrow and anger to note that I for years wanted a settlement because I felt that Britain was in trouble. They have their suffering and their sorrow. I wanted my country to move forward step in step with them as a free country. But what is one to make of such a statement. As far as British Government was concerned, there was no doubt that they had made it impossi ble for us to settle any thing. If there was any doubt in any mind, look at the statements made by Amery and Cripps. At this rate, our opposition will continue for thousands of years. Our concern was and remains not to hurt our friends, Russia and China.

XLI

Free India

(Allahabad, July 27, 1942—Statement to Press)

" It is said beyond measure that a man like Sir S. Cripps should allow himself to become the devil's advocate. He has injured Indo-British relations more than any other man could have done. The situation between India and England is bad enough in all conscience. And yet Sir S. Cripps must need go out of his way to make it still worse.

I have refrained from saying anything about the various comments and criticisms made in India and outside on the Working Committee's resolution. Most of these criticisms come from people who have developed a habit of cricising us. British and American criticisms have proceeded either on a complete misunderstanding of the resolution or on a desire to pervert it. The resolution is clear enough and people refuse to understand it for what it is; this simply shows they do not want to understand. It is said that at this extreme crises responsible people should shut their eyes to hard facts and deliberately ignore reality. That reality will not cease to be because of this attitude.

Sir S. Cripps' recent broadcast to America has, however, compelled me to say a few words. The broadcast is so full of misrepresentations of the Congress atitude that I am amazed at it. Like a clever lawyer Sir Stafford has picked out phrases from Mahatmaji's statements without reference to their context and tried to prove the British imperialist case. This is no time for lawyer's quibbling and no statesman who shoulders responsibility can afford to do this. If there is no consideration which has been paramount before the Congress it is that of the defence of India. Sir S. Cripps talkr lightly of anarchy and chaos. The right way to prevent theis

development is to cease to band for the provisional Government of free India representing the major groups and parties in the country to take its place. The right way to do this is for Great Britain not to talk to us in offensive and patronising language, but to approach us in all humility with repentence for all evils she has done to India and is still doing to her. Sir Stafford talks about war and the danger to India. We are more concerned with danger than he can be, for we shall suffer most by it. If war comes to India, it shall be the people of India who will fight and die in defence of their land and their homes. It will be the people of India also, when they are in a position to do so, who will pour out their help to China and the right cause. The situation between India and England is bad enough in all conscience. And yet S. Cripps must needs go out of his way to make it for worse and must constitute himself as the champion of Muslims, and depressed classes and others. I know my Muslim countrymen a little better than Sir S. Cripps does, and I know what he says about them is a calumny, for vast numbers of them are devoted to the cause of India's independence. **Sir Stafford has also on various occasions brought out non-violence as an insuperable barrier to prevent freedom in India. If there has been anything clearly and definitely stated on our behalf it is this: That free India will defend the country in every way, through armed forces and by all means. The question of non-violence in this connection has not risen. Indeed the question of any adverse effect on the war cannot arise because the whole object is to make India stronger for defence. It is absurd then to talk about weakening India's defence. The simple issue is the complete recognition of India's independence now and then immediately steps to be taken to give effect to it and to concert measures for the more effective defence of india in co-operation with the Allies.**

NINTH SECTION

From Quit India To Freedom

The struggle for Quit Inia did not end with the release of the Congress Working Committee from the Ahmednagar Fort in May 1945. Quit India is a movement to an end. The end is of course the complete independence of India. The destination not having been reached, it was but natural that the weary patriots should trudge on the unfinished journey. Immediately after his release Jawaharlal carried out the biggest campaign of his life with a thunderclap of speeches which are digested in this section.

I

Wavell Plan

(Simla, July 11, 1945)

Simla, July 11.—" The Congress is prepared to proceed with participation in the new " interim " Government under the terms of the Wavell Plan, to which it has already agreed, even though the Muslim League has decided against entering such a Government but the Congress will ask that the ' door be left open ' to the League," Pandit Nehru stated in an interview to-day.

" Of course, this matter is not entirely in our hands because there are other parties involved, one of which is the British Government, but we hope that if the League decided not to come in that decision will be only a temporary one and they will change their minds and come in later," Pt. Nehru said.

Replying to a question concerning the Congress plan in the event of the current Simla Conference collapses without a new Government being established, he declared that he not only was unable to answer such a question because such a possibility had not been considered but that he was also of the opinion that it should not be considered.

" One should not enter such negotiations as these and work for their success and all the while make plans for what to do when they fail," he explained.

He reiterated that the Congress wanted the Muslim League to participate in the proposed new Government because it felt that it must co-operate with all elements in the country in the present circumstances and that all must work together for the good of India.

Pt. Nehru discounted the position assigned to him recently by Mahatma Gandhi, saying there was no question of any ownership of the inheritance and adding : "Besides, in democracy there are no heirs to political positions."

Regarding his personal plans for the future, Pt. Nehru said he hoped to make a visit to the United States but that his going depended entirely on the situation in India. He said he had hopes of at least a short visit to America which might be followed by a longer stay there.

" In foreign relations, if we are to have any, it is very important that we establish contact with popular opinion in America and that there should be an exchange of knowledge as to the popular will in our two countries. The same is true of Russia. The situation internationally to-day is that there are two powers which really count and those two are America and Russia.

" Regardless of what happens in the next few weeks or months or even the next year or two, ultimately popular opinion will prevail and make the decisions and that is why it is important that we should know what the popular will is abroad."

Pt. Nehru was interviewed at " Armsdell."

Pt. Nehru was busy with an unending stream of visitors to-day. All these visitors and delegations were received by Pt. Nehru personally and escorted by him to the sitting room or to his own quarters in the bungalow for their interviews. But despite all the demands on his time Pt. Nehru was keeping abreast of international as well as Indian affairs as was evidenced by his Secretary bringing to him on his request, copies of newspapers containing a full report of the United Nations Charter and President Truman's address at the conclusion of the United Nations Conference. All this he carried on appearing not in the least disturbed by the crowd of Congress supporters, newsmen and curiosity seekers, who gathered daily on the bungalow lawn drive and verandah, giving Armsdell the appearance of a meeting hall and depriving its residents of privacy.

II

Pt. Nehru Condemns Parity Proposal

(Lucknow, June 18, 1945)

The " United Press " learns that before leaving for Allahabad in the afternoon, Pandit Jawaharlal held informal discussions with prominent Congressmen of Lucknow when the present political situation, particularly the Wavell proposals, with a special bearing on the question of parity, Viceroy's veto power, composition of the Executive Council, etc., was reviewed, Pandit Nehru giving his own reaction to the scheme. He was reported to have exhorted Congressmen to be more objective in their attitude and shed sentimentalism. He also pleaded for patience till the meeting of the Working Committee which was the only competent body to speak on behalf of the Congress.

Pandit Nehru was also reported to have endorsed Sardar Patel's statement regarding the parity issue, though he did not want to express his opinion definitely on the Wavell proposal without consulting Gandhiji and his other colleagues.

It was reported that Pandit Nehru held prolonged consultations with Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant and Acharya Narendra Deo before leaving Nainital for Allahabad.

III

Separate Electorates Must Go

(Lahore, July 17, 1945)

" Separate electorates must go. All the present communal troubles in India are due to separate electorates," said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing a press conference in the afternoon at the residence of the President of the Punjab Congress.

Asked whether after the failure of Simla Conference, the Congress would resume Congress Ministries in the provinces, Pandit Jawaharlal said that the resumption of Ministries was not a question of opinion but it depended on the conditions prevailing in the country. Under the present conditions it was inconceivable to form Ministries.

Asked whether communal settlement was necessary for political settlement, he said theoretically it was not essential. The removal of untouchability, and settlement between Hindus and Muslims would obviously make India's freedom battle easier, but it might happen that " before these things are totally achieved, India attains freedom." The foundation of progressive and stable society and State were harmony, unity and social equality. Unless they were achieved there would be a constant obstruction to the running of Government. If communal unity was achieved beforehand, nothing like that.

Pandit Nehru, continuing, said that the dispute between the Congress and the League was not over seats in the Executive Council. The fundamental principles of the Congress were involved. The Congress had grown on national foundation. It was not possible for the Congress to give up its fundamentals. That would mean killing the Congress that exists to-day.

Referring to the recent stand of the Muslim League, Panditji said that League's approach was based on disunity of India and on mediaeval type of society. He said by this he meant a religious group functioning as a political one.

The Congress had its political programme to fight for the complete independence of all irrespective of caste and creed. Its door was open to all communities who believed in its policies. This made it a political body. On the other hand, the Muslim League's door was not open to all but to Muslims alone. This made it a religious group attempting to function as a political group, which gave it a mediaeval character.

NO PAKISTAN

Pandit Nehru said that he was opposed to division of India, not because he had any sentimental attachment to United India. It was his progressive and modern mind that made him believe that United India could make us a powerful state. "A divided India will be like a weak state, Iraq and Iran, which in fact were not sovereign but just satellite powers, which stood at the mercy of great nations."

Pakistan, he said, was no solution of the communal problem. In both the zones, minorities would remain. Moreover, country could not be divided on religious basis. Protestants and Catholics lived together as same nation. This was a point over which everyone should ponder seriously. This was a poser to the Muslim League also. "The League can demand separation only of those areas where the Muslims are in an overwhelming majority. It must be remembered that this means division of the Punjab and Bengal. You cannot ask people of those areas of Bengal and the Punjab where non-Muslims are in majority to go with Pakistan. Will the Punjabis or Bengalis, whether Muslims or Hindus, like their provinces which are homogenous linguistic units to be divided ? These are problems to be faced. If the Muslims want separation, no power can stop them, but I myself shall try my best to convince all that separation is not in the interest of any one, certainly not of the Muslims."

Moreover, he said, Muslim League's approach itself was self-contradictory. "You cannot cut the head with the idea of restoring it." Therefore, the solution, Panditji suggested, was that these should be semi-Independent autonomous provinces with

all possible protection to the minorities—cultural, linguistic and religious.

Asked now that the Simla Conference had failed what would be the future programme of the Congress, Pandit Nehru said " the Congress will take stock of the whole situation—all that happened since 1942, and will lay emphasis on the work of re-organisation."

RELEASE PRE-REFORM PRISONERS

He made a special reference to pre-reform prisoners who have been rotting behind prison-bars for more than 17 years. They included people of Kamagata Maru fame, Lahore Conspiracy case prisoners and others. He hoped the Government would order their release forthwith.

SITUATION IN BIKANER

He also referred to the situation in Bikaner State, where peasants and Praja Mandal workers were suffering miserably due to Government repression and expressed the hope that Bikaner State Government would settle that affair.

Pandit Nehru said that it was ridiculous to say that he had suggested that everybody outside the Congress was a traitor. He never made that statement. It was absurd. He had said while the Congress was inside jail, the Communists had gone over to the other side and created a gulf between themselves and the Congress.

Mr. Jinnah, he said, was afraid of a Hindu majority in a centralised Government of India. Mr. Jinnah, according to him, was thinking on mediaeval lines.

LORD WAVELL'S SINCERITY

Questioned about Lord Wavell's sincerity, he said that Lord Wavell represented policy of the British Government and there was no question of his sincerity or insincerity. If the Simla Conference had succeeded it would have enhanced his prestige. His breaking up of the conference was according to the policy of the British Government.

UNIONISTS AND CONGRESS

Asked if he would like the Congress to work hand in glove with the Unionists Government against the Muslim League, Pandit Nehru said that his advice to the Congressmen in the Punjab would be to stand on their own legs and to oppose everyone who stood in their way. He said that the Congress would like to have general elections.

As Chairman of the Planning Committee he was for rapid industrialisation of India but wanted cottage industries like charkha-spinning, etc., to flourish.

Pandit Nehru said that as it had been made clear in the resolution of the Working Committee at its meeting in Delhi, in 1942, the Congress was ready to recognise right of self-determination of territorial units, though it would like to have India united. He did not see any contradiction in that resolution and in Lala Jagat Narain's resolution at Allahabad.

IV

Simla Conference

Referring to the Simla Conference, Pandit Nehru said that the story of Simla had ended. He could not say what will happen in the future, but he would ask the people to view the Simla Conference from the right perspective. The Simla Conference, he said, had its importance but they should not feel discouraged, disappointed or frustrated by its failure. He regretted its failure. They would not have achieved freedom if Simla Conference had succeeded, but the Congress thought that the Conference would have opened the door for the solution of the bigger problems of India. The Congress therefore, decided to participate in the Simla Conference and the Congress did their best to make the Conference a success. He expressed satisfaction at the part played by the Congress but the failure was due to other causes to be shared by the Muslim League and the Viceroy.

Pandit Nehru realised that the happenings of the past three years had a great effect on India. The people were full of anger and rage and were waiting to snatch an opportunity to step forward and achieve their ideal. The Government had done its best to crush the Congress but it had come out more strong.

CORRUPTION IN GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

Proceeding Pandit Nehru regretted prevalence of corruption and nepotism in Government administration of the country, which had gone to such depths that it resulted in untold sufferings, death and privations. Millions of people died in Bengal on account of a man-made famine and the rest of India also suffered much.

Referring to the programme of the Congress, Pandit Nehru said that while the Muslim League, the Sikhs and the Hindu Sabha took a narrow view of the problems of the day, the Congress had to keep in view the welfare of the whole of India politically, economically and socially. Now they had to view things from international point of view. The Congress took up the opportunity to avail of the Simla Conference, keeping in view the international affairs, but that opportunity had now gone. The Congress had bigger problems before them now and their policy was international. The war in Europe had ended, but the armies were intact and stood as they were. Nobody could say what may happen to-morrow.

Proceeding Pandit Jawahar Lal said Japan was still fighting. After the war was over and Japan was defeated they would not allow Burma, Java and Sumatra to be ruled as in the past.

The war, he said, had opened the eyes of the whole world. As soon as the war was over, there would be the question of accommodating 20 lakhs of Indian soldiers, who would have to be relieved. It was the National Government alone which could solve the problem and not the British Government. These and such like big problems were attracting the attention of the Congress.

Pandit Nehru said that Punjabis were very enthusiastic in raising slogans. They had courage and enthusiasm, but that was lost only in raising slogans. Pandit Nehru appealed to the Punjab to rise above the partisan spirit and reorganise and strengthen the Congress in the Province.

Concluding Pandit Nehru appealed to the audience to work for rehabilitation of the Congress organisation all over the country. As regards the future programme of the Congress, Pandit Nehru cautioned patience allowing the released leaders to take stock of the conditions prevailing in the country during the last three years and establish contact with workers and masses.

V

Nehru's Forecast

(*Bombay, November 13, 1945*)

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at a 60-minute press conference dealt with a variety of subjects ranging from the atom bomb to the nationalisation of industries.

He declared that Pakistan would create new problems instead of solving the existing ones. He made it clear that the Congress was determined to contest all Muslim seats in the forthcoming provincial elections, either directly or indirectly through nationalist Muslims Organisations.

He dealt with the land tenure system in the country and said that he was in favour of the abolition of the permanent settlement in Bengal and big Zamindari system in other provinces. He was of course, in favour of some kind of compensation the ratio of which was to be decided by the National Government.

On the question of industries, Pandit Jawaharlal once again reiterated his well-known view that he was in favour of the nationalisation of key and heavy industries and some kind of state control over other industries. This was essential in any scheme of national planning.

He expressed himself hundred per cent. against foreign control of Indian industries through their capital.

Pandit Nehru indicated that, though he had been refused facilities to proceed to Java, he was making an effort to visit Burma and Malaya.

On the question of atom bomb, Pandit Nehru said, that the discovery of this is to release a force in the world, the effect of which would either be for the good of humanity or for total destruction of the present order of civilisation.

Discussing the question of China, Pt. Nehru emphasized that it is always dangerous for any country to seek foreign intervention.

After greeting the press representatives with "Jai Hind" Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru answered a question on Mr. Arthur Henderson's reply in the Commons on refusal of facilities to him to proceed to Indonesia.

Pandit Nehru said that conditions were undoubtedly critical. Obviously the object he has in view is different from what I have in view. If the conditions are not critical there, the question of my going there would not have arisen. I am not going on a pleasure trip.

Asked to give his views on Mr. Jinnah's exposition recently of the Pakistan blue print, Pandit Nehru said it is now a hackneyed subject. It seems to me obvious that according to Mr. Jinnah's old promises, the definition of Pakistan is completely wrong. That is to say Mr. Jinnah includes the whole of the Punjab, Bengal, Assam and Delhi province in Pakistan. Everyone knows that Southern Punjab, Western Bengal and the Delhi Province are predominantly non-Muslim. It is in the form stated by Mr. Jinnah an unthinkable proposition, impossible of realisation whatever happens.

It is obvious, therefore, that this question, like most of questions, will not be decided by the Muslim League or by the Congress.

It will ultimately be decided by the people of India as a whole. It is equally obvious that if any such decision is taken large scale compulsion cannot and must not be applied.

The Congress feels that Pakistan does not solve any issue and that it creates many new problems. At the same time it does not realise that every unit, every province or community in India must have the fullest opportunity of living its own life and self-growth, without compulsion from outside. That is why it has suggested the largest amount of freedom with regard to most subjects and reserved only certain minimum subjects, which may be called federal subjects and which in any event have to be common subjects.

OPPOSITION PARTY IN PAKISTAN

Pandit Nehru's attention was drawn to Mr. Jinnah's view that he (Mr. Jinnah) favoured the idea of opposition parties functioning in Pakistan and not one-party rule.

I suppose, he will get plenty of opposition, Pandit Nehru remarked with a smile. The parties in India as they function to-day are not really parties at all. The Congress, for instance, is not a party at all, except in the legislature. It is a movement. It is a joint platform of numerous parties and groups for the achievement of one essential thing, namely, national freedom. As soon as that issue is solved there will be many parties formed on economic and other bases.

MENTAL RUTS

We have got into mental ruts, added Pandit Nehru, not only in regard to communal question and various minor affairs but in regard to the whole question of the constitution. We are so deeply in the rut that we have to think more or less on the lines suggested by the British Government, the Assemblies, the governor, high courts, chief courts, and what not. Pandit Nehru thought that we ought to think on other lines. We can take parallels from Russia in the solution of national and other problems, and consider them afresh. We are so tied up with the old argument, separate electorates, joint electorates, etc., that the vicious circle presents itself everywhere. The Pakistan issue has simply made it still more difficult to get away from that vicious circle.

CONGRESS LEADERS' SPEECHES

Asked for his comment on the feeling prevalent in official and non-official circles that recent speeches of Congress leaders including himself, tended to incite people to rebellion, Pandit Nehru said, " I cannot help these feelings. If my speeches lead people to think that the Indian problem cannot be kept still and that they have revolutionary implications, then, my speeches have served a good purpose."

Replying to a question on the prospects of Congress success at the polls, and specially in the Muslim constituencies, Pandit Nehru said : Obviously the question does not arise about general seats. The Congress will capture them. As for the Muslim seats the question is different. I think Congress or pro-Congress candidates are likely to gain a considerable number of Muslim seats in the United Provinces. I should imagine 25 to 30 out of 60 seats will be captured by them. At the Centre I imagine the League will do better than in the Provinces, because the franchise to the Central Legislature is limited and restricted. Congress appeals to the wider electorate.

One thing seems to be obvious. As things are to-day, in no province is the Muslim League likely to have a majority in the legislature. Naturally, this applies to the Muslim majority provinces as well. Subsequently, the question may arise of coalition with other groups, but by themselves they will not be in a position to form governments in any province, as far as I can see.

Mr. Attlee's assertion in a recent speech that freedom for India had been there for the taking and that communal differences alone stood in the way of the realisation of the freedom, was challenged by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. He said that communal differences might be an obstacle, but it did not lie in the mouth of Mr. Attlee to say that. What was the use of saying that India's freedom was there for the taking, when the British Government had put so many provisos. The question of India's freedom would really arise only when the British Government announced their decision to eliminate themselves and leave Indians to settle their own differences. That, in his opinion, was the only fair position the British Government in India could take.

Asked whether Congress will contest Muslim seats in the provinces, Pandit Nehru said. We propose to contest every Muslim seat in all the Provinces, either directly or indirectly through national Muslim organisation.

In answer to a question about nationalisation of industries, Pandit Nehru said: "There is always a great difficulty in answering this question because in answer to such a question depends as to who owns the state, an oligarchy of the British or the people of India. Nationalisation of industries in India with the British Government in control is not real nationalisation. It will be controlled by the British. In our view nationalisation of industries means control by a people's national Government.

Continuing Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru said the National Planning Committee has repeatedly made it clear that the state should own and control its own key and heavy industries and has defined the terms for such control. For purposes of planning, some sort of control is required even on other industries. First of all there is general agreement that we should keep out foreign economic control and that control and development of Indian industries should be in Indian hands. Foreign capital brings in certain foreign interference and it should be zealously watched. It may be necessary in order to develop India rapidly to have foreign capital. But if that is to be accepted, it can be accepted on the express condition of Indian control.

Pandit Nehru answered a number of question on the attitude the Indian army officers, having nationalist leanings, should adopt, despatch of Indian troops to colonial territories and Japan and help

to Indonesians. He thought that Indian army officers should feel and think as Indians, and when occasion arose, express their opinion in favour of Indian freedom.

Pandit Nehru felt that no Indian army should be sent to any territory, not even to Japan to humiliate anybody.

ATOM BOMB

In answer to a question about the menace of atom bomb, Pandit Nehru said : " It cannot be checked effectively unless the fundamental causes which create friction and war are removed. So long as these causes exist, there will be war. So long as wars are there they will use the atom bomb or something worse than that..... This revolution can either destroy human civilization or take it up to unheard-of levels.—A. P. I.

VI

Is It Our Duty To Rebel

(Bombay, November 12, 1945)

" The hunger of freedom cannot be fed by contesting the elections. If I have to address you to-day it is not only for enlisting your support to the Congress candidate in the coming elections, but to call upon you to vote for a great cause, a cause greater than the elections, namely our freedom," said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing a meeting.

Pandit Nehru added : " It is the duty of every Indian who is a slave to revolt and carry on the revolt till he is a free man. Every country, which is dominated by another nation must revolt against that authority. I am using the word 'revolt' after great consideration and thought. The question of when and how a subject country should revolt should be carefully considered. A nation, which has not sufficient strength to rise against an alien authority, is a dead nation. It is our duty, first and foremost to rebel against that foreign authority which rules over us.

" We have been following the path of revolution during the last 25 years openly. Before that period we had talks about revolt, but all the talks were conducted under cover. The first revolt against the British authority in India was in 1857 and thereafter there were small and sporadic fights.

" When we recall these incidents in the history of our national struggle for freedom, it becomes increasingly clear that India is not a dead nation. During the last 25 years we have seen various phases in the struggle for freedom. These included Satyagraha, civil disobedience and Khilafat movements. It does not therefore, mean that we should bow our heads to our enemy even while we follow the lead given by our great leader Mahatma Gandhi. The issue of freedom assumes greater importance day

after day. After all the strength of this great country of 400 millions is not negligible. It is not an easy task to lead the millions of our countrymen on the path of revolution. Even an elephant has to undergo the preliminaries before it can stand up and move. Equally so it is difficult to put this country on its legs and make her people move forward.

Pandit Nehru continuing said : " It is useless to say that we have not committed mistakes during the last 25 years since we raised the banner of revolt. But it is true that we have never allowed the flag to be dishonoured or lowered. It is, therefore, proper that we are proud of it. To err is human and in every country there are weak-hearted people. But the real issue is to judge how far we have contributed to the real strength of the nation.

" We have kept the flag of revolution in our hands firmly during the last 25 years and it will remain high till our country attains her independence.

" Revolution and elections do not go together. We have repeatedly said that it is not proper to contest the elections, because our real work is in the fields, villages, factories and in slum areas. Even then, we have accepted the challenge of the British Government to contest the elections. Judged by the ideal of national revolution, the elections by themselves are a misfit. But having decided to contest the election I am anxious to see that the Congress candidates, who have the flag of revolt in their hands, march forward towards the ideal. It pains me if our flag is insulted and therefore, it is my duty to help them who are advancing towards the goal. If I am entitled to vote I must vote for a Congressman. I appeal to you to think over and over again why you should vote for the Congress. Weighed in the scales of revolution you will find that a vote against the Congress, which is pledged to the attainment of freedom for India, will be a vote to strengthen and prolong the British hold over India."

VII

August Disturbance

Regrading the August disturbance, Pandit Nehru said that one could not form any opinion from the newspapers alone. He did not approve of some of the things that had happened. But he gave an instance, at Ballia, in Bareilly district, the whole structure of the British Government collapsed from top to bottom. There was damage. There was shooting and oppression by the British authorities and the Indian authorities acting under them. Planes, military and others came and numerous villages were destroyed. In all the charges that were brought against the villagers, there was not a single charge of personal violence. They did not indulge in personal vendetta or injury.

Pandit Nehru said he did not defend the actions of the people involved in the disturbances but the normal reaction of an

Indian would be to say: "To hell with any one who tries to push us out of the way. Violence or non-violence, it is more important for people to show courage than to be kicked and harried about by an individual or authority. If the British Government again launches an attack on us, it will be met and met by every man who is attacked. It may be met by ten or a thousand. Many may take it laying down. A nation which submits to this kind of treatment is a dead nation. And I do not want my people to be a dead people. And therefore, if such a thing is done it must be resisted."

BOMBAY PLAN

Referring to the Bombay Plan, the main feature about it was that it puts forward a picture of big changes in a relatively short time. The plan should be judged by the extent it would raise the standard of life and the health of the people. But the main question was what was the authority that was going to run it. The very best plan if run by wrong persons would do harm to the country.

REGARDING THE BLACK-MARKET

Pt. Nehru said: "Where there is a foreign Government of an authoritarian type, it does not attract the better type of person. There is moral degradation of a vast number of people, official and non-official. According to the Woodhead Commission's report, black-marketeers made a rift of Rs. 1,000 for each of the 1,500,000 people who died during the Bengal famine.

"It passes one's comprehension how anybody can be so inhuman and callous. I do not kill even a small insect but it would give the greatest pleasure if all the big profiteers concerned were hung by neck till they were dead."

Referring to Subhas Chandra Bose, he said: "When I was in Calcutta in 1942, there was talk of Subhas Chandra Bose leading an Indian contingent of liberation against India. And I was asked what my attitude would be. I said: ' I will oppose him and fight him because he is coming under Japanese auspices and under Japanese control and more for the advantage of Japan than for India. Subhas Bose was quite wrong in his methods when he thought that he could achieve the freedom of India with the help of Japanese.' "

Pandit Nehru did not directly reply to a question whether in the event of the new Government coming into being it would permit Subhas Chandra Bose to come back to India.

VIII

No Place For Pakistan

(Lahore, August 25, 1945.)

"In this age of Atomic Bombs and the rapidly-changing world, problems like that of Pakistan have no bearing and use. The real problem for various countries is not that of separation but of confederation and unification to save themselves from destruction," thus declared Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, addressing a mammoth gathering of about two lakhs at the Kapurthala House grounds.

The meeting was timed to be held at 9 P. M. but people started pouring in from the city in an unending stream from 7 P.M. and by the scheduled time the whole spacious grounds, the roads nearby and the balconies of the Kapurthala House and the surrounding buildings were packed to capacity. About 10,000 women were present. The loud speakers unfortunately failed and pandemonium prevailed for full two hours. The atmosphere being very close, about twelve persons including Bibi Amar Kaur, fainted and had to be removed to the rostrum, fanned and ultimately taken to their houses.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who arrived at the meeting at about 9-30 was greeted with thunderous slogans of "Pt. Nehru Zindabad." He felt annoyed at the failure of loud speakers and took the organisers of the meeting to task.

After waiting for full two hours Pandit Jawaharlal rose to speak. He said that he had gone to Kashmir to see the rapidly changing world from the high peaks of mountains and to compare it with the world of the past 25 years and to think of the past and future of India. There was no doubt that India, for the freedom of which they were fighting to-day was a great country in ages gone by. India ruled over various other countries of Asia, and its civilisation and culture spread far and wide.

But why was it that India had gone down to-day and was under foreign bondage? it was because of the narrowness of our vision. There was misuse of religion. When the world was experiencing rapid revolutions, it was a pity that Indians were sticking on to their old things. Mistrust and partisan spirit and communal bickerings were looming large in India.

Pandit Nehru said that the use of two Atomic Bombs had destroyed five lakhs of people in two cities of Japan. Nippon had been compelled to surrender. In spite of their victory, Pt. Nehru said, the British had been reduced to a second-rate power as a result of the present war. America and Russia remained the first-

rate powers. Revolutions were coming in the world and countries were thinking how to save them from destruction by combining, but in India they were still fighting among themselves, not only for offices but for position and power in political parties. After the Jallianwala tragedy 25 years ago, India was changing to-day and drifting rapidly towards revolution. The Congress was the only organisation which was responsible for bringing about awakening among the masses in India and fighting for their freedom. The Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and other communal organisations were opposing the Congress to-day. But the Congress was their mother. These organisations had so far confined themselves to the adopting resolutions and wanted to achieve their object by mere threats. They were not prepared to put them to test and danger as the Congress was doing. He asked the Indians to understand the changing world and to avoid partisan spirit and strife.

Referring to the demand of Pakistan by the Muslim League, Pandit Nehru said that the problem of Pakistan had no use for the world in the age of Atomic Bombs. It became ineffective and had no bearing in these days of development of science. The problem before the various countries was not to separate but to confederate to save themselves from destruction. The scheme of Pakistan aimed at division of India in small parts. The view of the Indian National Congress was that the scheme of division of India was a dangerous scheme and could not facilitate the smooth working of free India. They did not want freedom for keeping one part of India under the sword of the other, but they wanted economic development of India. If some part of India insisted on separation the Congress would try to persuade it not to do so, but if it wanted to go out of Hindustan the Congress would allow it to do so. Maulana Azad, Congress President had made this clear in his statement.

This long story of Pakistan had no place in this fast-changing world. The question of its acceptance and rejection did not arise because Mr. Jinnah the League President had not so far defined what he meant by it. Pakistan was not a thing in their pocket to be made over at a moment's notice.

If the Frontier Province, Punjab and Bengal demanded self-determination, the Congress would be prepared to give, said Pt. Nehru. He advised the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs of the Punjab and Bengal to think twice before embarking upon division of their provinces in two. They should bear in mind that, though their religions were different, their culture, civilization and language was the same. He referred to the Bengal famine, which took a toll of five million men. The problems of starvation and nakedness, he said, were the real problems in India and they could be solved only by the National Government. The Congress was the largest national organisation of India. The Congress alone could deliver the

goods no communal organisation could speak for India. The Congress, he said, despite repression, had come out successful and with double the force. The Congress, he said, was the only weapon for India's freedom. He appealed to the people to strengthen the Congress, an organisation which was fighting with the British Government and would not rest until India's independence was achieved.

IX

Congress Superior to all other Political Bodies

(New Delhi, November 3, 1945).

"I think it is below my dignity to beg votes," said Pandit Nehru inaugurating Congress election campaign on behalf of Mr. Asaf Ali, the Congress nominee for the Central Assembly. He had no doubt of the result of the election.

The Congress organisation, Pandit Nehru asserted, was incomparably superior to all other political bodies put together in the country. "We don't want to fight our countrymen. But we do want to fight for the freedom of the country," he said. At a most critical phase of the Congress which strove for freedom, Pandit Nehru said, the Muslim League, the Communists and the rest, sided with the rulers and did their worst to crush the legitimate struggle for freedom. He asked, where were those parties who sought the electorates' confidence to-day in 1942 and after ? For three years and more the Muslim League bargained with the British Government at the expense of the freedom of India. They asked for Pakistan. He had no complaint against that demand but the ambiguity in which the Pakistan was wrapped up and the fantastic claims made thereunder made it absolutely futile even to discuss the question. The future of India, he said, could only be decided by those who would break her shackles of slavery. (Cheers). The claims of the Muslim League and those of the Hindu Mahasabha which they openly discussed to-day would not exist in a free India, he said. The yardstick to measure the bonafides of political parties was to find out their contribution to the common struggle for freedom. The League, Mahasabha and the Communists betrayed the cause of the freedom, he said.

Concluding Pt. Nehru appealed for united effort for winning freedom. A country with disunity was doomed and would be left behind.

He was presented with a purse of over a lakh and eight thousand.

X

Misuse of Defence of India Rules

(New Delhi, October 13, 1945)

Giving his views on the Satyartha Prakash ban, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in reply to a letter from Mr. Ghanshyam Singh

Gupta, President, All-India Satyarth Prakash Defence Committee says:—

"I read about the ban on the Satyarth Parkash in Sind when I was in Ahmednagar Fort prison. I was shocked and surprised that any Government should impose this ban, more especially under the Defence of India Rules. What this has to do with the Defence of India Act or with the War, was a mystery which I was unable to solve. On the face of it this was a misuse of the Defence of India Rules. The ban really raised larger issues of civil liberty and religious freedom, and as a firm believer in civil liberties, I was inevitably opposed to it. To believe in or practise civil liberties, does not mean that we accept and tolerate what we like or approve of, but that we tolerate what we do not like or approve of. We have to defend even the right of our opponent to criticise us, for otherwise our own right to give expression to our views may be attacked and suppressed.

"So the question for me is not one of the merits and demerits of the Satyarth Parkash but the more fundamental one of not interfering with the freedom of writing and expression. I am no authority on the Satyarth Parkash. I may say, however, that its polemical way of approach to religious and other problems does not appeal to me. But my view on this subject has little importance. What has far greater importance is my view on the civil liberties. According to this latter view the ban on the Satyarth Parkash was wrong and unjustified. What is worse is that this may become a precedent for future invasion of civil rights and liberties.

"I am convinced that the future Government of free India must be secular, in the sense that Government will not associate itself directly with any religious faith, but will give freedom to all religions to function. This religious freedom presupposes tolerance towards votaries of each religion. Any other approach is not only wrong in itself but will inevitably lead to friction and trouble. Any Government in India which infringes the rule of religious freedom, takes upon itself a grave responsibility and sets a bad example for others. This, I think, correctly represents the Congress attitude in the matter.

NO SATYAGRAHA

"As for what the Arya Samaj or others should do in regard to this ban, it is not for me to say. I do not see eye to eye with the Arya Samaj in some matters though I have admired its social and educational work. In this particular matter I agree, as I have stated above that the ban on the Satyarth Parkash is unjustified. I am, however, quite clear in my mind that at present any action in the nature of Satyagraha would be wrong and might lead to undesirable consequences. I would, therefore, suggest if I may, that no such direct action be undertaken. We are living in rapidly changing

times and we must ever bear in mind the larger interests of the country, which ultimately include the interests of the various groups in the country. A wrong step now might well injure their interests and the very cause you are advocating now. For my part I need not assure you that I shall always endeavour to have civil liberties in all forms maintained and protected in India to resist any encroachment on them."

XI

No Question of Compulsion

(New Delhi, August 29, 1945)

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in an informal chat with New Delhi journalists to-day answered a number of questions on diverse subjects such as Indian Communists and the Congress, atom bomb, Pakistan, elections and war criminals.

On the question of elections Pandit Nehru said that it would have to be considered from various points of view by the Congress Working Committee. Congress attitude towards elections was not the same as that held by others. Elections by themselves might be important but the Congress must view them in the particular context. He could not say what seats the Congress would contest but he presumed the Congress would contest with full strength.

Undoubtedly the Congress wanted good men to contest elections. But elections were a disturbing factor in normal Congress work. He suggested that Congressmen holding executive position in the organisation should not stand for elections except by special permission.

The question of Congress assuming power in the provinces has not arisen. When it arises, he did not think the resolution will affect us much. We decide what is best under the circumstances, replied Pandit Nehru when his attention was drawn to a resolution of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League against the Congress assumption of offices in the provinces.

Pandit Nehru said that the Working Committee would consider the position of the Communist Party " vis-a-vis " the Congress. All this time the Congress was a mixture of two elements. It was a party working in the legislature and elsewhere. Naturally when there was some kind of a movement involved, men must go only by one direction and difficulty arose when that action was opposed.

CONGRESS AND COMMUNIST PARTY

The Congress attitude towards the Communist Party had nothing to do with Communism or the Soviet Union. It was entirely a question of internal politics in India on which there was difference of opinion and, therefore, it was proposed that in the

executive of the Congress it would be wrong to have people who did not agree with the policy of the Congress.

Pandit Nehru thought that the Congress election programme would deal with political, economic, national and international problems. The August eighth resolution fully explained "the Congress approach to the international problems. On the national issue it was independence. And in regard to the economic problem there were a variety of Congress resolutions on the subject. They needed to be developed because the Congress was mainly an agrarian body and industrial and labour issues should be included. There was, however, general agreement on the industrial policy, namely, that heavy and key industries should be state-owned and controlled. Smaller might be left to private enterprise. On the question of planning, there must be a measure of state control, not day to day control because that led to complication, of nepotism, corruption and so on.

Question Of Self-determination

The Congress President's statement on self-determination correctly represented the Congress view, said Pandit Nehru. The Congress position was that India should remain a national unit but with a vast deal of provincial autonomy for the federating units. But at the same time if the population of a unit specifically declared that they would not be in the common unit then the Congress would not compel them to stay in the unit. Thus the Congress recognized the right of separation or self-determination. He, however, thought it would be injurious to cut up India and set up communities and groups as separate states. That would be injurious to the defence, development and planning of the country.

Nonetheless if some units wanted to part company, they might do so, provided they did not also drag others who did not want to go. The decision must be taken by all the inhabitants. It should be territorial self-determination. He thought that once the freedom for separation was recognized, then the urge for separation would go. The question must be considered dispassionately. His personal views on the question were different. It did not matter whether India was one nation or more than two nations. There was hardly satisfactory definition of a nation. It could be argued from historical, cultural, racial and a hundred other points. If hundred nations wanted to pull together then it was one nation. If a particular community or group did not want to pull together with the rest of the country, then it did not matter whether it was one nation or two nations. I call it an alien element in the country, he said. It cannot be absorbed and you cannot digest it. Some way has to be found to suit both parts. Look at this whole theory of two nations. The theory is supposed to be based on religion. This is what I connot understand in the modern context of the world. I have heard about it in the middle ages. Two nations of India are based on

religion and they are interlocked in every village. It will be terribly difficult to transfer population. There will be a tremendous upheaval. Suppose a division of India takes place on the basis of two-nation theory. Obviously in one part of the country there will be millions of people owing allegiance, according to this two-nation theory, to another part of the country where one-tenth of the population will owe allegiance to the first part, we are not thinking of territorial loyalties here but religious loyalties. According to this theory the Hindus in the Muslim parts will be aliens and Muslims in Hindu parts will be aliens. If you accept this theory all sorts of difficulties are bound to arise. Aliens could not be wholly incorporated in state and in case of war they would become very dangerous elements.

XII

We Shall Have To Fight

(Allahabad, June 13, 1945)

" Some people say the Congress has been crushed or is dead ; never believe in it. And the reception which you have given to me to-day or the one which I have received at Lucknow confirms my belief", said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing in Hindustani a large gathering which had collected at Anand Bhawan to receive him.

" Your enthusiasm to-day", continued Pandit Nehru, "reminds me of the events which happened in August 1942. I do not know the full details of these happenings, but whatever they may be, whether my countrymen were right or wrong, I bow my head to those dauntless martyrs who sacrificed their lives for the freedom of the country. I also bow my head to my numerous brother citizens, the people of the province, and the country, who fought and are fighting for the same noble cause. I congratulate them. I have heard of the glorious deeds and many sufferings of the people of the districts of Ballia, Azamgarh and Gorakhpur. I pay my warm tributes to them. Their sufferings, their sacrifices and bravery will constitute a chapter by itself in the history of our battle."

Pandit Nehru referred to the release of the members of the Congress Working Committee and said " I admit that one chapter in the history of the fight for Indian independence has ended, and with our release a new chapter has begun. Much, however, still remains to be written. We have pledged ourselves to attain independence for the country. And we shall have to fight till we attain that objective. The mere release of seven members of the Working Committee, in itself, therefore, does not smoothen the way of our cherished goal of independence."

Pandit Nehru also referred to the Wavell Plan but declined to say anything on it. " It was not that I have not formed my opinion on the plan. I have," said Pandit Nehru. " But it would be unwise" he added, " to say anything unless I have exchanged my views with the other members of the Congress Working Committee." He also indicated that it was the privilege of the Congress President to give the views of the Congress.

Concluding, Pandit Nehru paid tributes to the part played by students in the national struggle. " I am moved to see these children and their display of such enthusiasm", said Pandit Nehru and hoped when they grow into manhood they would witness the birth of New India.

Americans' Request

Three Americans followed Pandit Nehru in the procession, which was taken in his honour, in a jeep and made insistent request that Pandit Nehru should come to their jeep and they would take him round the city. This, however, could not be done as about 50 persons got into the jeep making it impossible to move. After some time the Americans in the jeep left the procession and took a different route.

XIII

Congress Attitude to Pakistan

(Delhi, April 5, 1946)

Pandit Nehru reiterated that particular areas which wanted to part company could not be compelled to remain. As a matter of fact if you examine Pakistan in that diluted and restricted aspect it becomes so difficult of constitution as a state that it is almost inconceivable.

A correspondent pointed out that what worried Master Tara Singh was whether Congress would under any circumstances agree to the League demand for Pakistan.

Pandit Nehru indignantly declared that he had reiterated the Congress stand on many occasions. He went on to assert once again that under no circumstances would the Congress agree to Pakistan. That is dead clear.

Answering an earlier question about provinces which did not join the Constituent Assembly, Pandit Nehru expressed the hope that the force of circumstances would be such as to bring them into the Constituent Assembly. But during the intervening period, if India was functioning as an independent entity, those provinces would be autonomous units, but under the suzerenity of the Central Authority.

Question : Supposing those provinces declare their independence and start building up an armed force ?

Ans. If any part starts arming against us, superior arms will prevail.

Referring to Indian Princes, Pandit Nehru said he was glad that some of them had taken up more or less an attitude which might be summed up as: "Let there be independence immediately, including withdrawal of the British army, and we shall solve our problems among ourselves. That is a dignified attitude for any Indian, whatever his party views may be, and that is the only real attitude, because ultimately there can be no doubt that problems will be solved by the Indian people themselves and by no outside authority."

RE-DISTRIBUTION OF BOUNDARIES

Redistribution of provincial boundaries was essential and inevitable, he said, because we wanted provinces which were autonomous units culturally and linguistically, as far as possible. He wanted such cultural and linguistic units to grow up with a sense of freedom and without a sense of compulsion." I want not only provincial autonomy but if necessary within the province smaller semi-autonomous areas. Take the Sikhs for instance. If they desire to function as such a unit, I should like them to have a semi-autonomous area within the province, so that they may have a sense of freedom.

Economically they will be a part of the province.

Pandit Nehru agreed with a correspondent's suggestion that the present negotiations with the Cabinet Mission ought not to cover any other subject except immediate transfer of power.

"An Indian State joining the federation," he went on in reply to a further question, "will be an equal unit of the federation, having the same responsibilities, privileges and obligations as any other unit." Every State would, of course, have to keep up to the level of administration and democratic liberty in the rest of India. It might be that the exact form might slightly vary, but it was impossible to conceive of varying levels of feudalism and democracy in different States forming part of the federation.

Difficult problems in India, Pandit Nehru said, were not so much those about which people talked and got heated, such as Pakistan, although these were there. "But the primary problem of India is the economic problem, solving as far as we can the problem of poverty and raising the standard of living.

"I say the economic problem is the essential problem. That does not mean it is the first problem, because the economic problem cannot be tackled before the political problem is solved."

PLANNED SOCIETY ESSENTIAL

Thus the figure of 400 million was all wrong, said Pandit Nehru. Apart from that, even assuming this figure was correct, India was less densely populated than most of Europe, and there were in India large areas which could be cultivated and populated with state assistance. Further, a population might be too great for an agricultural country but might not be great at all if the country was industrialised. It depended on what the country was and what avenues of production existed. If every man was a worker, he was an asset. But nevertheless planned society was essential in India and he realised it was desirable to prevent population increase and to take measures to that end.

" I should like every person and every political party to put forward its views and demands in relation to this real economic problem of India, because if it is not so related, then those views and demands are unreal and superficial. I should like to consider the problem of Pakistan from the point of view of this economic problem: from the point of view of defence and of international affairs".

" I am quite convinced," he went on, " that with independence recognised and being given effect to, and the solution of all problems definitely in the hands of Indians, whatever the consequences, we shall solve all the problems that face us such as Pakistan, or the Indian States."

" Independence is not a thing which can be left over to the Constituent Assembly, because then it means really nothing is decided and everything is left over in an incohate state," Pandit Nehru said.

The Constituent Assembly would decide India's relation with Britain and other nations. " Inevitably, we have a large number of matters to consider—relations with Britain and they should be considered by the representatives of the Constituent Assembly and those of the British Government later on in that context of independence."

" It will be open to us to have close and friendly relations, economic and others with Britain. That will depend on the national interests of the parties concerned. Obviously an independent India will make her own friends wherever she likes. Obviously, also every country thinks primarily of its own interests and its foreign policy is determined by those interests, though I hope that in an independent India the idealism which has governed our nationalist movement will continue to govern our international relations."

Pandit Nehru expressed disapproval of Great Britain's foreign policy, particularly in relation to Indonesia and went on : " That leads me to India's relations with her neighbour countries of Asia. Whatever our relations may be with other countries in the world, and I hope they will all be friendly, it

is inevitable that we will draw closer to Asian countries, East of India, South-East and West. Indeed, you can say they are joined together already.

" All over Asia there is not merely a revival of old memories and historical traditions, although that is important, but much more important is the compulsion of geography and of developing events."

" I have suggested and some others have done likewise that we should have a conference of representatives from Asiatic countries meeting here in India to consider common problems. This suggestion has met with approval, to my knowledge, in many countries, but at present there are so many difficulties in the way that it is not easy to organise such a conference. But it will be possible to do so before very long.

SMUTS' POLICY

Pandit Nehru commented on the policy pursued by General Smuts in South Africa—policy, which he said, was a hundred per cent. similar to the Nazi doctrine. " What the future is going to be in South Africa I cannot say, but I can say with the utmost conviction that we are not going to tolerate this policy and we are going to face all the consequences of opposing this policy, not only in South Africa, but in Asia as a whole and in the world, because it raised a fundamental racial issue which applies to all Asians and Africans and the so-called coloured races. And so long as this issue is not solved satisfactorily, it is going to be a menace to the peace of the world".

" It might have been possible to postpone a decision for a little while, but General Smuts has seen fit to bring it to the forefront now. Well, I for one, am not sorry. It is best to deal with these ugly questions as early as possible.

" To me the U. N. O. will be an absurdity if it tolerates racialism of this type. I do not expect the U. N. O. to go with South Africa on this issue, but I do expect the U. N. O. and the rest of the British Empire, if they are earnest about it, to dissociate themselves from South Africa and cut her away from the family of nations, if she followed this Nazi doctrine. If the U. N. O. Europe or America do not do that, the time will soon come when all Asia may do that and so might Africa, where South Africa is situated.

ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

Pandit Nehru, reverting to the economic background of the Indian and the world problem, said : " I am far more interested in it than in normal political developments." He had studied the problem in the National Planning Committee and had come to the conclusion that the problem could not be tackled in a piecemeal way, the more so because India had to put up with more than a hundred years of arrested growth under British rule. Agriculture was the dominant issue in India. It could not be dealt with unless all the feudal relics were swept away and modern methods of

agriculture were introduced and co-operative farming was encouraged."

LANDLORDISM TO GO

He was glad that the Congress had definitely decided to put an end to landlordism in India, giving compensation to the persons concerned.

In dealing with agriculture, the burden on the land had to be reduced by drawing off a large number of people to industry both large-scale and cottage. If agriculture and industry were developed, it meant development of social services for the 400 million people of India.

Lots of people were overwhelmed by population figure of 400 millions. He was not. Firstly, he did not think there were 400 millions. The last census was hopelessly wrong, because among many other things the British Government had done here, separate electorates were the father and mother of the Pakistan and separate electorates led to complete falsification of the census, for separate electorates offered a strong inducement to the average person to tell a lie.

The statistical society, which was an authoritative body and which conducted a survey of the population of Bengal four years after the last census found that the population was six million less than the 1941 census figure. Normally population showed an increase in four years.

XIV

Confusion of Issues

(Karachi, January 9, 1946.)

Pandit Nehru said that in India to talk of self-determination was likely to lead to a confusion of issues because they were dealing with parts of India. Any federation of free peoples could only be based on willing co-operation of Unions. Any attempt to compel large groups would result in diversion of national energy. **"The Congress thinks in terms of India minus the British Government and the communal bodies can hardly imagine India minus the British Government and they go to the British Government to press their separate claims."**

Referring to the visit of the Parliamentary Delegation, Pandit Nehru said that it was always good to have personal contacts even with opponents and, therefore, they would gladly meet the members of the Delegation. But the idea of certain members of the Delegation coming out to investigate conditions in India was rather good.

As regards the question of Indian independence, Pandit Nehru said that if a really big move in establishing Indian independence

was being taken the country would gladly respond to it. The whole Indian political situation was tense and India could not brook delay.

Giving his impressions about the tour in Sind, Pandit Nehru said that there were, as in any other part of India, enormous crowds, great enthusiasm and electric atmosphere. This was more in evidence all over India now than at any time previously. He said: "Politically speaking Sind politics are a little difficult for a visitor to analyse. There are no politics at all. They are partly tribal loyalty or clan loyalty and certain backwardness in the sense that big feudal magnates exercise some control over them and so the various labels that people attach to themselves as candidates or members of parties have seldom the same significance as elsewhere in India. The Congress probably is the only truly political organisation. Even the Congress is necessarily influenced by these facts. The Muslim League is very much impressed by them and I doubt very much if the candidates put up by the Muslim League for election are, in any way, Muslim Leaguers. Probably they are just accepted because they hope to win a seat. Politics here have been in a curious tangle with people shifting about from one group to another. It is also unfortunate that Sind administration is notorious for its corruption. The war has brought much money into some pockets and it will no doubt flow out during the elections. Sind suffered a very grave loss in the death of Mr. Allahbaksh who was peculiarly suited to unravel the tangle and the manner of his death itself is significant of Sind politics. Sind has also gained notoriety for frequency of political murders. There is a certain nomadic character about the part of its population chiefly due to abundance of land. All these factors show there is a total lack of equilibrium in public life and politics in Sind. The one establishing factor can be the Congress."

Pandit Nehru then referred to the question of self-determination in detail. He said that in an ideal world there could be perfect self-determination for everyone and every group. In practice, however, this was severely limited by dominating factors.

"We have arrived at a stage to-day in the world when even complete national self-determination is limited in many ways by world factors. We demand independence for India. That is complete self-determination for India as a whole but we always make it clear that we realise that there can be no complete independence for any country in the sense of isolation. Therefore, we have always said that the solution of the world's problem is by means of world federation of free nations co-operating with each other.

Independence and inter-dependence have to go together in this world. If that is applied even to a large country like India, much more does it apply to small countries. Indeed the idea of self-determination for small countries in Asia or in Europe to-day

is just a theory which cannot be put into practice. Such nations may be theoretically independent but practically they will be dependent on some large nations of whom they will be client states. Therefore, to talk of self-determination by itself does not mean much and in India it is especially liable to lead to confusion of issues because we are dealing with parts of India. On the other hand, it is perfectly clear that any federation of free peoples can only be based on willing Union. Anything else means compulsion and coercion, may be by armed intervention. That kind of thing is undesirable in itself and as a matter of fact in modern context of the world practically impossible. Apart from this an attempt to compel large groups would result in diversion of national energy and prevent the rapid progress we are aiming at as soon as we are free. To ask me whether I am in favour of a united Indian federation or a division of India shows certain lack of knowledge of what the Congress has been saying all along. We are intensely in favour of a federation of various parts of India as it consists to-day. We propose to work for it with all our energy but we realise that the way to achieve it is not by shouting out that we shall compel every one, every group but rather to demonstrate by facts and arguments that there is no other way out and show that in such a federation every province and every group will have the fullest freedom to develop according to its wishes and genius. That is to remove fears from the minds of those who may think that they will be oppressed. Most of our thinking on this issue is done in the context of the British Government in India. Once the British Government disappears from the picture, all these questions change shape completely. One of the essential differences between the Congress outlook and the outlook of the communal bodies is that the Congress thinks in terms of India minus the British Government. And the communal bodies can hardly imagine India minus the British Government and so they go to the Government to press their separate claims."

Pandit Nehru referred to his conception of Asiatic Bloc. He said that India was likely to dominate politically and economically the "Indian Ocean" region. The strategic position of India is such that it is difficult to organise defence of the countries to the right and to the left of India without India's co-operation. Therefore, in the natural order of events these countries and India should come closer together for mutual protection as well as mutual trade. What these countries are likely to be, one cannot say now except that nomally speaking they would include the neighbours of India on either side. China is an entirely separate problem and I hope that China would be on the closest terms of alliance with India. As regards the remaining countries of Asia, it is difficult to see how things will take shape. There is talk of an

Asiatic federation, and such a federation has certain appeal about it. It must be remembered, however, that a huge part of Asia belongs to the Soviet Union and necessarily much will depend on the action and interaction of Soviet policies with the policies of other Asiatic countries."

Speaking about Indian independence, Pandit Nehru said that something big was going to happen. "There are, however, so many factors unconnected with the immediate issues which lead one to think that nothing big is going to happen. The fact that large numbers of our people are in prison or detention is significant itself. The fact of British policy in Indonesia is very important. Even the speeches of prominent statesmen in England are singularly lacking in any content. If a really big move in establishing Indian independence is taken by England, obviously we shall gladly respond to it. If not it is equally obvious we shall take the initiative in our own hands and take such steps as we think fit and proper. It is clear that the whole Indian political situation is tense and cannot brook delay."

Pandit Nehru said that the Congress might accept the office not to implement the economic programme, partly because that programme could not be implemented in the present conditions as a whole. But more so because the political issue was dominent to-day. The Congress had entered the elections and would accept office if it so decided at the time on the basis of "Quit India."

FUTURE OF I. N. A.

As regards the future of I.N.A. Pandit Nehru said the Congress proposed to absorb them in every possible way in the national activities, need not be political activities. "It is a big problem. A number of them can be absorbed in industries and some of them in village works. We are also thinking in terms of getting them in trained to form "industrial co-operatives." A number of them may be absorbed in direct public works. But it is not our desire to make politicians out of them, individuals apart.

Answering a question about National Planning Committee, Pandit Nehru said that they might be able to finish the work in the course of the next summer. He said that the Government of India were co-operating to the extent that they were sending some materials and they had also deputed their representative to attend the meeting of the Committee.

MUSLIM CONSTITUENCIES

Pandit Nehru replied at length to the criticism of Congress not putting up candidates in Muslim constituencies. He said: "Generally speaking we are co-operating in this matter of election with the Nationalist Muslims and we have put up Congress candidates to the Provincial Assembly in the United Provinces. We did not take the Central Assembly elections seriously because of very

restricted electorate and because the Congress influence is greater where the electorate is wiser. Our programme itself is a mass programme. In Provincial elections a very large number of Muslim candidates are being put up in various provinces. Roughly speaking nearly half of Muslim candidates are contesting on Congress ticket in U. P."

Pandit Nehru said that the Congress would not insist on adoption of adult franchise for the Constituent Assembly, if by insistence upon adult franchise there would be considerable delay in establishing Constituent Assembly. The Congress was not likely to insist. "Above all, we want to avoid delay. It is a bitter pill to swallow. We will demand wider franchise. How that can be organised, I do not know." As regards Indian States representation, he said that they should be represented by elected representatives.

XV

The Challenge Of The Time

(Calcutta, March 8, 1946)

" Obviously the only organisation in India that can meet the challenge of the time is the Congress," said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in a press statement on his arrival here to-day, conveying the message of the Congress, namely the message of freedom to the people of the country.

He adds: " Others may help a little or hinder a little but they cannot solve any problem or bear any big responsibility. It is in this context and the still larger context of the world to-day that we have to view our problems. We must not get lost into petty squabbles or argument. It is extraordinary how marked the contrast is to-day between public feeling on the one hand and petty issues, which worry politicians as a rule. We see all over India an astonishing degree of enthusiasm for India's freedom and independence. On the other hand we see even in the election arguments about issues, which do not arise at all."

XVI

Self-Determination

(Calcutta, March 11, 1946).

The difference between the Congress idea of self-determination and Pakistan was explained by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in an interview with a representative of the Associated Press of India on the eve of his departure for Bombay.

The interview was on a recent statement of Mr. Harold

Laski, the British Labour leader that Pandit Nehru had accepted 95 per cent. of Pakistan.

Pandit Nehru said : What is said was that Congress proposals as contained in recent resolutions and in particular in the election manifesto were such as to give 95 per cent. self-determination to the constituent units in the federation. We have said that we want willing partners in the federation and that the list of common subjects for such units would be the very minimum such as defence, foreign affairs, etc. There would be a list of common subjects which constituent units might or might not accept as they wish. This gives the fullest freedom subject only to the vital question of defence and allied subjects which cannot be ignored in any context even in the context of adjoining independent states. Weak defence means instability, insecurity and reliance on external powers. This is not freedom for India or any part of it. Congress has gone to the furthest limit to give self-determination and real freedom to the constituent units of the proposed Indian Federation. Further it is said that it does not wish to compel any part against its will, provided always that no compulsion is exercised on others against their will. Mr. Jinnah's scheme of Pakistan, apart from its other features, is the very reverse of self-determination because it envisages compulsion to large areas in the Punjab, in Bengal, in Assam, not to mention the whole of N.-W.F.P. The Congress proposal involves absence of all compulsion. It gives the greatest freedom to provinces or units of the Federation and yet preserves unity in defence and allied subjects like foreign affairs, communication, currency, etc. For the rest units can choose whether they will have common subjects or not. This, I say, gives 95 per cent of self-determination and freedom to the units as well as a joint working of the remaining five per cent.

Asked about the withdrawal of British and Indian troops from Indonesia, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that the only comment he had to make was that the troops should have been withdrawn long ago.

XVII

Leninism

(*Bombay, February 27, 1946*)

In 100-minute press conference in the morning at the Congress House, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru answered over 50 questions dealing with all manner of subjects, beginning with the prospects of the success of the forthcoming British Cabinet Delegation, the question of victimisation of the Royal Indian Naval ratings who were on strike, the place of the defence services in the national struggle for freedom, underground activities of groups and sub-groups, so-called revolutionary programmes, and violence and non-violence.

Pandit Nehru indicated that the Congress would arrange for the defence of R. I. N. strikers, if they were put on trial.

On the question of the forthcoming visit of the British Cabinet Delegation, Pt. Nehru said that the Congress would enter the talks, in the hope and belief that they would lead to a satisfactory solution of the Indian problem on the basis of Indian Independence.

In answer to a question which was put to him last as to what he thought of the prospects of success of the proposed British Cabinet Delegation to India, Pandit Nehru said: " We are apt to consider these questions too much in the personal context. In larger problems one has to consider other impersonal questions. A Lenin probably made all the difference to the Russian revolution. Nevertheless, behind and round about Lenin were mighty factors, working for the revolution. Now, therefore, in considering this question of India and England, we should consider it in the context of the world to-day, the position of England as well as of India, and what are the forces at work. We must realise that each country in the final analysis, works for its own interests. In the international plane, it only works for what might be considered international interests, when they are in harmony with its own interests. So you can take it that the British delegation will work for the interests of Britain, and the Indians, who meet them, will work for the interests of India. But that is only part of the question. What do British interests, as they appear to them, require to-day, and what do Indian interests from our point of view require ?

" In the final analysis, Britain has to choose between two possible developments. It is inevitable that in the course of the next few years India will be independent, even if Britain opposes it. If India gains her independence, in spite of Britain, India for a long time is likely to be a country hostile to Britain, ranged in a camp hostile to Britain in the world context. On the other hand, if India attains independence more or less immediately, by co-operating with the British, it might be possible for Britain to salvage some goodwill as well as other things in India. Therefore, from the British point of view, it may well be to their interests, even in the near future, and much more so in the distant future, to recognise Indian independence now, than to be forced to recognise it some years later after having lost everything. Similarly India naturally would prefer a peaceful solution to a solution which entails great deal of loss and suffering, and which might delay India's progress later on in the economic field. The costs of conflict are always great, and the heaviest of these costs is the trail of hatred and bitterness that follows. We should like to avoid all this, and therefore, we should like to do our utmost to have a peaceful solution of India's problem, but it is dead clear, that a settlement can only be on the basis of Indian independence, and on no other. There is a desire and strong urge on both sides to come to a peaceful settlement and it may well be that success comes to us. On the other hand, there are powerful factors working in a contrary direction.

PUTRIFIED BRITISH TRADITION

" The most powerful factor working in a contrary direction is the 150-year old tradition in British minds which has putrified British thinking in regard to India. Britishers even to-day and even Including the Cabinet Ministers and the Prime Minister of England cannot get rid of their tradition which has eaten into their minds and they still talk of India often enough in a language which smells of a generation or two ago. They forget that they are addressing a sensitive, proud and virile people who will not put up with any patronage or anything smacking of superiority.

It is obvious that India to-day is a volcano of 400 million human beings.

XVIII.

Need For Sanity

(*Simla, May 13, 1946*)

Referring to the political situation, Pandit Nehru said that the present was a critical juncture when everyone had to be prepared to shoulder his responsibility bravely. People should develop a balanced and unbiased outlook and do their utmost to establish complete communal unity. They should take care to see that they did not allow their emotions to get the better of their reason.

The freedom that is coming, Pandit Nehru said is not going to be the Swaraj of the Hindus or of the Muslims but it will be the freedom of the 400 million people of India.

The Congress, Pandit Nehru declared, has always been actuated by high ideals and in all its struggles against British imperialism it has never shown any malice or bitterness. If only the people can remember this they will find no difficulty in facing the situation.

Pandit Nehru deplored the raising of petty issues or putting obstacles in the way of India's freedom, but asserted that in spite of all obstacles, India would soon be free.

TENTH SECTION

Princes And People

The States, as says Jawaharlal in his Autobiography, are the last footholds of feudalism in India. He has produced quite a voluminous literature on the deplorable conditions prevailing in the Indian states, in which case the very use of the word ' state ' is a gross abuse of terminology, because the princes are only puppets of British imprerialism. In this section have been summed up some of the very latest utterances of Jawaharlal about the subjection and servility to which the poor people of the Indian states have been yoked as a consequence of an unholy alliance between imperialism and feudalism.

I

Lack of Liberties

(Allahabad, March 5, 1946)

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the All-India States Peoples' Conference, has issued the following statement to the press :—

" In January last the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes made a declaration in the Chamber on behalf of himself and his brother princes guaranteeing civil liberties and recognising the immediate need for representative institutions and efficient administrations and judiciary. I welcomed this though I pointed out at the time that the proposals for constitutional changes do not go far enough and should be based on recognition of responsible Government. I welcomed it chiefly because it represented a new approach and because of the assurance in regard to civil liberties which had been wholly or largely absent in most of the States. I believe some slight improvement did take place in regard to civil liberties in a few States but on the whole there has been no considerable change and I am constantly receiving reports of how civil liberties are being suppressed in many ways. This means that many of the princes are

not keeping to their pledged word. All faith in what they say will vanish if action is at variance with assurance. This is a bad beginning for the big change that will inevitably come in the near future. I trust that all rulers of States will appreciate this and demonstrate to their people and to India that they mean what they say and are acting up to it.

Civil liberties are important and are an essential pre-requisite for any form of democratic Government. But they do not take the place of representatives and responsible government. Therefore, it must be remembered that the objective of the States' people is and must remain full responsible government. The same measure of democratic freedom must prevail in the States as in the rest of India. You cannot yoke together bullock with a swift horse. There is no difference between people of the States and the people of the provinces. Their future is one.

Hyderabad State was not affected by the Chancellor's declaration and continues in most ways its medieval existence. The State Congress is still banned and generally speaking it is an astonishing example of the middle ages having strayed into the 20th century.

II

Flooded with Letters

(*Allahabad, March 29, 1946*)

Any major change in India and certainly the recognition of India's independence must take into consideration the States problem," says Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as President of the All India States People's Conference in a statement to the press.

The Pandit adds : " Before I went to Malaya and since my return, I have been flooded with letters and telegrams from Praja Mandals and States peoples organisations in regard to the States in the coming scheme of things. They are naturally interested in this vital question so far as they are concerned. So far, however there has been little mention of this problem. Partly this is no doubt due to the fact that some of the other major problems are supposed to have priority and the States problem can be considered properly only when the other matters have been decided. It is not helpful always to deal with a number of complicated issues all together. It is obvious that States problem, like other problems, has to be viewed in an entirely different context on the basis of an independent India. It is this independence that comes first and colours overything else. Nevertheless it is true that one cannot isolate one problem from another and each one of them is interlinked. The independence we seek is not confined to a particular part or group and inevitably it is based on a democratic machinery of

the State. That democratic machinery must exist not only at the top but also in the constituent units. The smaller States will also necessarily have to be democratised though they will have to be absorbed in large units.

NAWAB OF BHOPAL'S DECLARATION

" The declaration made by the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes in January last, was welcomed by me not because it accepted the fundamentals of democracy and responsible government which are essential, but because it was a new and freth approach to the problem and certainly was satisfactory in regard to civil liberties. In practice it has not been fully given effect to and complaints have reached me from many States of its violation. The premier State of India, Hyderabad, is of course, in this as in other matters in a class apart and it still does not allow the normal civil liberties and freedom of organsiation.

All this is strange preparation for the big changes that are envisaged all over India. These changes must come, if we are to avoid disaster. It is clear that such changes even in the States cannot be half-hearted measures which merely disturb the old without establishing the new.

" Some States have attempted rather feebly to introduce a measure of dyarchy. This has not been successful and in the context of to-day has still less chances of success. Recently it has failed in Kashmir, where one of the popular Ministers had to resign because he was given no opportunity to function effectively. Obviously no organisation or a self-respecting individual can undertake responsibility for forms sake only, without proper authority and opportunity.

" It is true that in many States conditions are so backward, owing to the policy of the State and the British Government, pursued for a large number of years, that it may be difficult to organise immediately a developed public opinion and in other States there is this developed opinion and it should not be at all difficult to take advantage of it and give it responsibility. These matters are capable of adjustment, if the proper approach can only be made. That approach can only be on the recognition of a democratic structure and responsible government.

" It is clear that any Constituent Assembly, which frames the constitution of India cannot ignore the States. It is equally clear that only democratic representation of States can fit in with the character of such an assembly. It should, be remembered, however, that representation in such an assembly is a privilege which can be exercised only by those who accept its fundamentals and are prepared for a democratic form of government.

90 MILLION PEOPLE'S DEMAND

" The All-India States People's Conference at its recent session at Udaipur has clearly stated the position and the demands of the ninety million people of the States. That conference is to-day well organised and certainly represents a vast majority of the States people all over India. It has stated that it wants a good deal with the Princes in as friendly a manner as possible so that we can evolve a new order for the States peacefully and co-operatively. It has also stated that such an order can only be based on the democratic freedom of the States people and responsible government for them. That position holds good and nothing has happened since then to change it in any way. In view of the developing situation, however, it is the desire of many members of the Standing Committee of the All-India States People's Conference to have a meeting of the Committee soon. I think it is right that we should meet and consider all our problems in the new context as well as to strengthen our organisation which covers practically all the States in India.

" I have, therefore, convened a meeting of the Standing Committee on the 7th April in Delhi and I hope that all members will attend this meeting."

III

What State's People Want ?

(New Delhi, April 14, 1946)

" It is dead certain that if the States' people are not represented on the Constituent Assembly properly they will not only not like it, but will create trouble about it. The real question that arises to-day is how the people of the States should be represented on the Constituent Assembly," said Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, President of the All-India States People's Conference at a press conference.

He said : " It was unfortunate that the Cabinet Mission had not met representatives of the people of Indian States. I suppose they know well enough what the people stand for, nevertheless.

" It is rather odd that vast numbers of the people of India living in the States should be more or less ignored in this way. Of course, in a strictly legalistic sense, the British Government have to deal with the rulers of the States, but when the whole structure of government is going to change, it is obviously not only important, but essential, that the views of the people of the States should be known and should prevail. Otherwise there is going to be no peace in the States."

There were, he said, 20 States who could join the Indian federation as units, the others, who would not be big enough

to be units, might be absorbed in the British Indian Provinces or they might group themselves together to form a unit of the federation wherever feasible.

These units would have exactly the same status as any other unit. The Indian States system would cease to exist completely in its present form.

PENSION OFF RULERS

As regards the rulers, Pandit Nehru said : " We want to avoid conflict where we can do so. The rulers of the big States can continue to be constitutional heads of the States, but the question will ultimately have to be decided by their own people. The rulers of small States, which are absorbed, cannot function at all. We are prepared to pension them off."

IV

Adequate Representation

(New Delhi, April 10, 1946)

United Press of India understands that in his letter to Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru suggested that in the Constituent Assembly, proposed to be summoned to decide India's future constitution, the States subjects should be given adequate representation—at least 50 per cent. of the seats allotted to the Indian States.

The letter emphasises that independence conferred upon India would not be complete unless it is applied to the States subjects also. It could not be conceived. Pandit Nehru's letter further says, that while two-thirds of India enjoyed freedom and full self-government, one-third of India should remain under the autocratic rule of the Indian Princes without any representative assemblies or other institutions. Independence is not divisible, Pandit Nehru concludes.

V

Who Rules the States ?

(New Delhi, May 21, 1946)

Pandit Nehru in a statement says :—

" I have just learnt that Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah, President of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference and Vice-President of the All-India States Peoples Conference has been arrested yesterday afternoon by the Kashmir State authorities. At my request he was coming to Delhi for consultation. He was arrested *enroute* at Ghari, 100 miles from Srinagar. I do not know the circumstances or ostensible reasons for this arrest but it is obvious that this is a very serious matter both for the Kashmir State and for the States peoples' movement all over

India. It is becoming increasingly evident that there is a general tendency in many States to attack the peoples' movement. Whether this is due to a desire to queer the pitch at a critical moment or whether it is just the normal functioning of the State authorities, I do not know. But I am convinced that this kind of thing cannot take place without the support and countenance of the Political Department and their agents. We know very well that in such matters it is the Resident who plays a dominant role. What has happened in Faridkot. I am told, has been done with the advice of the Resident or whatever he is called. It is perhaps as well that this question of the States peoples' and their rulers and the Political Department is thus brought to a point as to whose will prevails ultimately in the States. Is the Political Department to continue as of old ? Is the ruler also to continue in his old ways of irresponsible autocracy ? What has happened to all the brave declarations made in the Chamber of Princes ? What of the future when we are told India will be independent and the peoples will be supreme ? Does any one imagine that the States will continue as they have done with just minor changes in the facade ? So far as the States peoples are concerned and their organisation which I have the honour to represent they will never agree to this, and all talk of political changes based on a continuation of the States system in its old form is just empty and fruitless. In order to consider all the vital developments in the States a meeting of the General Council of the All-India States People's Conference has been convened for June 8th, 9th and 10th in Delhi. That Council, which represents all the major and minor States of India, will take full cognisance of these developments and will no doubt lay down its policy as to how to meet them."

VI

Faridkot Surrenders

(*Fraidkot, May 27, 1946*)

A settlement was reached at Faridkot as a result of the successful intervention of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru who had a 2½-hour interview with the Raja of Faridkot this afternoon.

The following are the terms of the settlement :—

(1) Withdrawal of Section 144.

(2) Cancellation of Rule 56 of D. I. R. banning entry of people in the State.

(3) Full liberty for the formation of the public bodies like the Praja Mandal.

(4) An open inquiry by the Chief Justice of Faridkot and punishment of guilty officers.

At a public meeting, held in the grain market at 5 p. m., Pt. Nehru announced the conclusion of the settlement.

Pt. Nehru, accompanied by Mr. Dwarkanath Kachru, arrived at Faridkot this morning. He met the Raja af Faridkot from 2 p.m. to 4-30 p.m.

Normal business will be resumed in the State from to-morrow.

HOME SECRETARY'S STATEMENT

A statement issued by the Home Secretary, Faridkot State, says: " In consequence of the cordial talks for about two hours between His Highness the Raja of Fradikot and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, an amicable understanding has been arrived at and it has been decided :—

(1) To repeal the Registration of Association Act.

(2) To withdraw orders under section 144 Cr. P. C. and 56 of Defence of India (Faridkot) Rules.

(3) To release the remaining 12 under-trials now in custody.

(4) To constitute an impartial public inquiry by the Chief Justice of Faridkot State into excesses, if any, committed against law during the last movement."

BAJA'S TRIBUTE TO NEHRU

An A. P. I. message says:—

The Raja of Faridkot, in an interview to the " Associated Press of America" immediately after his conference with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said: " Everything is now settled peacefully."

The young 30-year-old Ruler, attired in the uniform of a Lieutenant-Colonel, gave a smile of relief and satisfaction and said: " But for our talk, the situation might as well have been different." He was hinting at the possible use of force in some event.

Raja Harindar Singh paid a tribute to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's " tactful handling of the situation" and said: " The settlement is due to his wise statesmanship."

The Raja said: " The happenings have been greatly exaggerated " and added: " But I hope all these things will now become things of the past. "

The Jawaharlal-Harindar Singh settlement seemed to be immediately effective as was evident from the contrast between the morning meeting addressed by Pandit Nehru, which was illegal, and the later one, which was legal.

Earlier message stated:—Addressing a crowded meeting at Faridkot Market Square to-day Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru said: " We do not seem to abolish the Princely Order. What we do want is responsible government. Princes must march with the times. If they ignore the awakening of the people, deny them civil liberties and obstruct progress, it would only be at the peril of the rulers."

Pandit Nehru, accompanied by Mr. Dwarkanath Kachru, General Secretary of the States People's Conference, and Mr. Upadhaya, his Secretary, arrived here for a brief stay. Throughout the journey, Pt. Nehru was greeted by thousands of people who thronged wayside stations, climbed his compratment and shouted slogans which kept him awake the whole night. The train arrived at Faridkot three hours late. At Bhatinda a big crowd turned up. Pt. Nehru went into the station yard and addressed them. At many stations he was presented with purses.

At Jaitu Station, in Nabha State, a still bigger crowd, beating drums and sounding bugles, greeted him. Pt. Nehru said it was here 23 years ago that he was arrested, handcuffed, marched along the streets, tried and convicted to three and a half years' rigorous imprisonment and after a fortnight released. Pt. Nehru recognised many old friends and addressed a gathering with the help of a loud speaker fitted in his compartment. He said that he would visit Jaitu in the evening.

At Kot Kapura next to Faridkot the Police cordoned off the tation, but crowds lined up outside and cheered Pt. Nehru. Outside the Faridkot railway station turbaned Sikhs with spears and swords welcomed Pandit Nehru. As he was entering the city gates of Faridkot a magistrate approached Pandit Nehru and said: " There is Section 144 in force in the city. Meetings and processions are banned." Pandit Nehru said that he did not mind what order was in force but would get through his programme. He turned round and asked the people to follow him in an orderly manner. Many thousands joined in the procession holding tri-colour flags.

HARTAL CONTINUES

All the shops in Faridkot continue to remain closed and it is stated that the 'hartal' has been going on for one month now. Pandit Nehru and the procession marched through the closed bazar and formed themselves into a meeting at the market square where thousands of people from Faridkot, Patiala and Kapurthala States gathered. Dr. Kitchlew presided. Addressing the meeting Pt. Nehru said that he had not come to Faridkot for any trouble but as a messenger of peace. He said all states like Faridkot could not embark on such a repressive policy without the approval of the Resident and the political Department. The main prop of Indian States Pandit Nehru said, was the British in India. Once the British power was withdrawn autocracy in the States would collapse. The future of Princely Order depended entirely on the good will of the people.

In Delhi, which was so close to Faridkot and other Punjab States, negotiations were going on for the independence of India and for the transfer of power to the people. It was strange that in States there was such repression and utter lack of human rights. He could not for a moment believe that the administrations in the States had so much power as to flout the wishes of the people but

for the backing of the British. In this connection Pandit Nehru referred to the Nawab of Bhopal's declaration on behalf of the rulers promising reforms and democratisation. He throught that it was a mere routine gesture and made without any intention to give effect to the declaration. He added : The British are going most definitely. If Indian States who depend for their existence on the British do not move with the time then they also will go. If the people do not want them then they cannot exist."

Concluding Pandit Nehru stressed the unity of India. What happened in Indian States, he said, also affected those outside the States. Pt. Nehru was presented at the meeting with a purse of 5,001 rupees.

Pandit Nehru and party were the guests of Mr. Devidayal, treasurer of the Faridkot State People's Conference.

VII

How Things Must Not Be Done

(Delhi, May 28, 1946)

I have just returned from Faridkot, where fortunately for all concerned, a satisfactory settlement was arrived at. I congratulate both the Ruler and the Praja Mandal on this settlement and I hope that it will be carried out in the spirit in which it was made. The time has gone by when State officials can indulge in autocratic and offencive behaviour. During this critical period that we are passing in the present, only way to carry on is through a large measure of co-operation between the rulers and the Praja Mandals or other States' Peoples' Organisations.

The Faridkot affair would never have assumed the importance and significance that it did but for the extreme incompetence of some of the State officials. The ruler was away at the time in Malaya. One wrong step leads to another. There was a succession of wrong steps on the part of the State authorities. Fortunately, those have been remedied in so far as they could be remedied now and the future should be faced in a different manner. Where there are no properly elected assemblies to give expression to the people's wishes, it is only the Praja Mandals and the like that can do so. It becomes important, therefore, that the ruler should look upon these Praja Mandals as the representatives of the people and deal with them in a co-operative manner. On the part of the Praja Mandals, every effort will be made to meet the ruler half-way.

Kashmir affords a notable illustration of how things must not be done. So long as there was some attempt at co-operation between the State administration and the National Conference, unsatisfactory as this was, there was no possibility of any trouble. The moment this policy was re-

versed on the part of the State the situation underwent a progressive change for the worse.

Prime Minister Kak in a press interview has stated: "We have been preparing for it for eleven months and now we are ready to meet the challenge. There will be no more vacillation and no weak-kneed policy. We shall be ruthlessly firm and we make no apology about it."

It is interesting to remember that Mr. Kak became Prime Minister just about eleven months ago. Previously there had been a succession of other Prime Ministers. Gradually each was pushed out from the picture till Mr. Kak emerged as the Prime Minister and supported this new policy. I was in Kashmir in July and August last, soon after Mr. Kak had become Prime Minister. Already one noticed the beginnings of this new policy, although the National Conference was still co-operating with the Government and one of its men was a Minister. That poor Minister had a hard time of it and, ultimately, resigned. One can understand easily enough, after Mr. Kak's statement why that Minister should have had this difficult time, for the new Prime Minister was deliberately preparing to fight and crush ruthlessly and without apology the Kashmir National Conference. Obviously, a Minister from that Conference could not fit in with this policy and had to go. In fact, the conditions that were created made it impossible for any honourable person to remain Minister as they made it impossible for any popular organisation like the National Conference to continue to offer its co-operation to the State authorities. Every recent development is explained by this frank admission of the Kashmir Prime Minister. He was out for trouble and he has got it, relying on his army and making careful military preparations for his grand coup. These included the transport of Kashmir troops by air from the Middle East.

During my stay in Kashmir last year, I found that the National Conference went more towards co-operation with the authorities than most other popular organisations in the States. In spite of this, they were treated in a shabby manner and I do charge the Prime Minister with deliberately encouraging faction and communalism so as to weaken the National Conference. Later, when the question of Mirza Afzal Beg's resignation arose, Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla refused to take any precipitate action. Twice in the course of months he consulted me, showing me all the correspondence on the subject. I agreed with him ultimately that there was no other course open but for Mirza Sahib to resign. While we pondered and considered and hesitated, Prime Minister Kak went ahead with his military and other preparations. I am astonished that with this knowledge any one should have the effrontery to say that Sheikh Abdulla or the National Conference precipitated a crisis. The big mistake they made was not to realise what the State policy was and continued to offer their co-operation for so long. It was only during the last few days that this realisation fully

dawned upon them and they began to think in terms of self-defence.

I have seen report of one of the last speeches delivered by Sheikh Abdulla in Srinagar before his arrest. Even at that stage he said that he would accept responsible Government under the aegis of the ruler, provided that the ruler was only a constitutional head. The fact of the matter is that the Kashmir State organisation from the Prime Minister downwards has irritated the people of Kashmir beyond measure. Nothing moves in Kashmir and it is heart-breaking to see that paradise on earth running to waste because of incompetence. Serious charges are made against the administration. The Maharaja, who, to begin with, kept above local politics, has apparently given a blank cheque to the present Prime Minister and inevitably the feeling against the Prime Minister and others extends itself now to the Maharaja also, for, ultimately, he is responsible. He has not only kept aloof from his people completely, but even his Ministers could not approach him easily. Apparently his sole agent with the outside world is Prime Minister Kak.

Mr. Kak has stated that he would welcome my visit to Kashmir. Certainly, I shall go there when the time comes, but when I go there my first object must be to see and consult Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla and the other leaders of the National Conference. Is Mr. Kak going to give me full facilities for this purpose? Is he going also to agree to a full and impartial inquiry into all the matters that have happened during the last few weeks, including of course, the ruthless policy of which he is so enamoured. If he is so pleased with his own activities, he should not be afraid of an inquiry into them. Mr. Kak has taken full responsibility for his policy. Let him justify it, therefore, before an impartial tribunal. It is no small matter to prepare for elevenlong months for an attack on a popular organisation and then to hand over the State to a military administration with all the consequences that this entails. Mr. Kak, when he talks about being ruthlessly firm, talks a language which no statesman or one responsible for the fate of human beings can indulge in. His very language condemns him and his policy. The blimps have ceased to exercise control in most countries. It is the unfortunate fate of Kashmir to-day to be in charge of blimps.

Mr. Kak has raised issues in Kashmir of the most vital importance to all those interested in the States. In a sense, I welcome his clear enunciation of his policy, for that will mean a clearer definition when the time comes for a final

decision and that cannot be long delayed in Kashmir or in any other state. There has been too much talk of long periods of preparation for the States to being tied up to the common level. People will have to hurry up now, for events are marching swiftly to their pre-destined end.

In view of the serious situation in Kashmir and all that is happening there. I call upon the State peoples' organisation, its regional councils, Praja Mandals, Lok Parishads, State Congress and the like to express their sympathy with the people of Kashmir and to offer to help them in such ways as they can. I suggest that meetings might be held to this end on Sunday next, June 2. If it is more convenient for any local organisation another suitable date might be chosen. At these meetings not only should a full expression of solidarity with the people of Kashmir be made but the demand for full responsible government in every state should be reiterated. The time has gone by for half measures. Collections should be made for the relief of sufferers in Kashmir and these collections should be sent to Shri Kamalnayan Bajai, Treasurer, All-India States Peoples' Conference c/o Bajaj and Company, 51, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay. It may be necessary, later, to enroll volunteers for special service in connection with Kashmir. For the moment, we must watch developments but we must be ready for all emergencies.

VIII

Reign of Terror

(New Delhi, May 26, 1946)

" To the State authorities I would say that their action was bringing great discredit on their name and no Government can live with that disgrace attached to it," says Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the course of a statement on the Kahmir situation. The world still remembers Amritsar and Jallianwala Bagh. Are we to have yet another gruesome memory to pursue us in the days to come, he asks.

Pandit Nehru has postponed his visit to Kashmir for the present, but says that he will go the moment he feels he can be of help in ending the conflict.

The following is the full text of the statement :

Both as President of the All-India States Peoples' Conference and as a Kashmiri I have been greatly troubled by recent developments in Kashmir. I have said little about them so far because I wanted more facts. My first impulse was to go to Kashmir, but I refrained from doing so till I had more information. I knew that the kind of messages that we have been getting through press

agencies are completely one-sided and unreliable. These press agencies only send out messages approved by the State authorities.

I have now a vivid account of the happenings in Kashmir from Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad and Dwarkanath Kachru who have recently arrived here. They will be issuing statements themselves and so I need not repeat what they are going to say.

Many questions have been put to me about the new orientation given to the popular agitation in Kashmir with the demand for Quit Kashmir based on the Amritsar Treaty. It has been, and is, the policy of the All-India States Peoples' Conference to demand full responsible Government in all the States under the aegis of the ruler who is to act as a constitutional head of the State. That has also been the policy of the Kashmir National Conference of which Shaikh Mohammad Abdulla is the President and Leader. During the last few months, however, the State authorities have been pursuing a policy of direct hostility to the popular movement in Kashmir and trying to disrupt it by various undesirable methods, including encouragement of the communal issue. The position of the popular Minister, Mirza Afzal Baig, became impossible and he had to resign. Subsequently, in defiance of their own rules, they appointed another person, who was till then also a member of the Kashmir National Conference, as Minister. This was the result of a secret intrigue about which no one knew. There was considerable resentment at these tactics of the State authorities and feeling against them grew. Evidently they were bent upon creating trouble and many weeks ago they started bringing in the State army to the Valley and distributing it at various strategic points.

GROWING TENSION IN STATE

Some weeks ago, a Committee of the National Conference sent a memorandum to the Cabinet delegation raising the question of the Amritsar Treaty and demanding that this Treaty be abrogated and Kashmir be ruled by the people of the State. This new policy reflected the growing tension in the State and the rising temper of the people against the State administration. There were many charges also of corruption and nepotism in the State administration. The new policy had not been endorsed by the National Conference or its executive. Normally, it would have been considered by that executive on the 26th of this month. But meanwhile, events marched ahead. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah spoke publicly about this policy. Personally, I think that it was unfortunate that a marked variation in the policy, both of the All-India States Peoples' Conference as well as of the Kashmir National Conference, should have been made without full consideration of the respective bodies.

" I should like to make it clear that the policy of the All-India States Peoples' Conference remains what it was, that is responsible Government under the ægis of the rulers. Indeed no one can change it except the Conference itself, but events in Kashmir, as also happenings elsewhere in the States, are repeatedly bringing this issue before

the people of the States and it is possible that unless quick changes towards responsible Government take place in the States, the rulers may no longer be welcome even as constitutional heads.

There is a great deal of talk of dynastic rights and privileges, but no dynasty or individual can claim to override the fundamental rights of the people. If the rulers remain, they can only do so by the goodwill and desire of their own people and not by compulsion of external or any other authority. Sovereignty will have to reside in the people and what follows will thus necessarily be according to the wishes of the people. I am not interested in the legal implications of the Amritsar Treaty or any other treaty. I am interested primarily in the good of the people and their rights to decide for themselves what their Government should be.

While, therefore, I think it regrettable that the issue of the ruler continuing or not was raised in Kashmir at this stage without reference to the organisations concerned, I must make it clear that it is open to any individual or group to raise that issue, if it chooses to do so on its own responsibility. If this is done in a peaceful way, no State has a right to suppress it.

REIGN OF TERROR IN SRINAGAR

What happened in Kashmir clearly demonstrates the desire of the State authorities to avail themselves of any pretext to crush the popular movement. I had requested Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla to come to Delhi for consultation. At a public meeting in Srinagar, he announced this fact and said that he was going to Delhi within a few days. He further directed that no public meeting or agitation should take place during his absence from Kashmir. It was clear that he wished to discuss the whole situation with me before taking any other step. Three days later, he was on his way from Srinagar to Rawalpindi when he was arrested and about the same time a large number of his colleagues, both Muslim and Hindu, were arrested at various places in Kashmir.

The whole of the Valley was handed over to military administration. The police being Kashmiris, were withdrawn. A reign of terrorism and frightfulness then began. Kashmir has practically been cut off from the outside world since then and martial law prevails. There have been conflicts with crowds and firing on numerous occasions. My information is that far more people than officially admitted have been killed. A much larger number who were wounded were sent to jails instead of hospitals.

MARTIAL LAW

Srinagar is almost a city of the dead. Movement is difficult and large numbers of people are practically interned in their own houses, apart from the many hundreds who have been put in prison. Clashes occur daily and even women have been shot down.

But what is far worse is the deliberate attempt reminiscent of the martial law days in the Punjab in 1919 to humiliate human beings. I understand that people are made to crawl in some of the streets, that sometimes they are made to take off their turbans to clean the streets and pavements, that they are made to shout at the point of the bayonet "Maharaj Ki Jai." Dead bodies are not handed over to the relatives for burial according to religious rites, but are soaked in petrol and burnt. The mosques, including their inner shrines, have been occupied by the military. A wall of the Juma Masjid of Srinagar has been knocked down to allow passage way for military lorries. A dangerous feature of the situation is the deliberate attempt to foment communal trouble.

All this and very much more is happening in Kashmir to-day. It passes one's comprehension how any Indian officials should behave in this barbarous and inhuman way to their fellow countrymen, but humanity apart, surely there could be no more effective method to make the position of the ruler intolerable to his people. The military forces under their British officers may for the moment succeed in shooting and killing and overawing the people of Kashmir. How long will they do that and what will be the results ? Are they going to make the people loyal to the Maharaja at the point of the bayonet ? That is not the way human beings function and that certainly is not the way the Kashmiri is going to function.

MINISTERS WILL HAVE TO ANSWER

What part the Maharaja has in this sorry business I do not know. Undoubtedly he will have to suffer for the policy of his administration. In any event, the Ministers of the Maharaja must shoulder this responsibility and they will have to answer for this before not only the people of Kashmir but the public opinion of India.

What again is the part of the Resident and the Political Department in this business ? They too will have to make it clear where they stand in this matter.

Whatever the rights and wrongs of any policy, there are certain limits beyond which no Government dare go except at its peril. The Kashmir Government has gone beyond these limits in its desire to crush a popular movement, which is firmly established in the hearts of the Kashmiris. Every one who knows Kashmir knows also the position of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah there. He is the Sher-e-Kashmir, beloved of the people in the remotest valleys of Kashmir. Numerous legends and popular songs have grown around his personality. He has been and is one of my most valued colleagues in the States Peoples' Movement, whose advice has been sought in all important matters.

Does anybody think that we are going to desert him or his comrades in Kashmir because the State authorities have got a few guns at their disposal? We shall stand by the people of Kashmir and their leaders in this heavy trial that they are going through. If they have erred in any matter, we shall tell them so frankly, but for the moment their blood is being shed in that lovely valley. The fate of nations is not decided by lawyers' arguments.

Kashmir by itself is important, but this issue obviously affects all the States in India and it is for all of them to consider its significance, more specially at this time when we are supposed to be hammering out the future of India. It is a bad sign at this particular moment for the blood of a people to be shed and for State authorities to display their military might in repressing their own people. The talks that we are having about India's future become pale and shadow before this grim reality.

CRY HALT TO THIS HORROR

Things have gone far in Kashmir, perhaps too far already. Yet they might grow worse. It is up to everyone concerned with Kashmir, or with the States generally, to try the utmost to cry halt to this horror. The Kashmir State authorities should also give thought to the inevitable consequences of their actions. I have postponed my visit to Kashmir for the present, because I was not quite sure that I could render effective help at this stage. I want to help as far as I can in ending this terribly bitter conflict and the moment I feel that I can be of such help I shall go.

Meanwhile, I would appeal to all concerned and specially the newspapers to avoid giving a communal turn to what is happening in Kashmir. I have noticed with deep regret some highly intemperate articles in the Lahore Press. It has been the policy of the State authorities to encourage communal trouble. We must not fall into this trap. To the State authorities, I would say that their actions are bringing grave discredit on their name and no Government can live with that disgrace attached to it. The world still remembers Amritsar and Jallianwala Bagh. Are we to have yet another gruesome memory to pursue us in the days to come?

Let there be an end of all this and a calm consideration of the issues at stake. They will require all the wisdom and forbearance that we may possess.

IX

THE EXPLOSIVE BACKGROUND

(New Delhi, June 8, 1946)

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing the General Council of the All-India States Peoples' Conference this afternoon, referred to the "explosive background in the Indian States" and re-affirmed the objective of the Conference of responsible Government in the

States under the aegis of the ruler as constitutional head, but made it clear that " the only ultimate rights we recognise are the rights of the people."

" That objective continues till it is changed," Pandit Nehru said, speaking in Hindustani. " I wish to make this clear because of recent events in Kashmir. Those events have not changed our objective, though there is a growing feeling for change. Ultimately, of course, it will be for the people of the States to decide about the future of the head of their State. There is much talk about dynastic rights and the like. While we have accepted the continuance of the ruler as a constitutional head, it must be made perfectly clear that the only ultimate rights we recognise are the rights of the people. Everything else must give way to this. Sovereignty must reside in the people and not in any individual."

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR EACH UNIT

" The Immediate problems before us are: (1) Making of an Indian constitution: (2) arrangements for the interim period : (3) democratisation of the States to bring them upto the common level of the rest of India.

" It has been one of the fundamental policies of the States people that in the constltution-making body, their elected representatives must take part. They will not submit to their fate being decided by the rulers' nominees. We hold by that,

" It is clear that when a federal union is established each unit will have equal rights There will be no paramountey of one party over another. This presumes, of course equal development and democracy in all the parts There will be no paramountcy as it exists today, or it may be said that paramountcy for the whole of India will vest in the Federal Union Government.

" During the interim period, some kind of ad-hoc arrangements will have to be made. Whatever this arrangement is going to be, the States people should not be left out of it. It is essential that there should be a unified policy even during this interim period between the Provisional Government and the States, so that in the formation of this policy the States people should have a considerable voice It is not possible even during this period to continue the present arrangements. Even if to some extent, the old form prevails, the content of it must undergo a complete change.

" There has been nothing so reactionary in India as the political Department. It might be possible to have a joint committee, representative of the Provisional Government and the States, to consider all common problems and develop a unified policy. In this committee, the principle of the representation of the Indian States must be accepted. How this should be done is a matter for consideration. The object should be to avoid two kinds of deadlocks, a dead lock between the Provisional Government and the States and a deadlock between the people of the States and their rulers.

The difficulty as it faces us to-day is largely due to the autocratic character of the States Governments. If there had been democracy there, no difficulty would have arisen. Therefore, for this reason, as others, it is exceedingly important that urgent steps should be taken to introduce democratic and responsible Government in the States.

INQUIRY NEEDED IN KASHMIR EVENTS

" I have referred to Kashmir. Many alarming reports have come to us about recent events there. Some of them have been contradicted. I have been trying to find out the truth of what happened and if I find that I have been responsible for any wrong statement, I shall certainly correct it. In such matters, there is both exaggeration on the one side and an attempt to hide and distort what is happening on the other. It is difficult to find the golden mean. Obviously, it is necessary even in the interest of the State administration to have an impartial inquiry into these events.

" But an inquiry is not enough when from day to day conflicts take place. Our colleague and comrade, the Vice-president of the All-India States Peoples' Conference, Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla, is in prison with a large number of his workers and it is stated that there are going to be trials. Obviously, there will be no peace in Kashmir if trials and convictions of popular leaders continue. The British Government has repeatedly played that game and failed. The Kashmir Government is hardly likely to succeed. To Sheikh Adbullah and people of Kashmir we send our greetings.

" One aspect of the Kashmir troubles demands our attention: the tendency often encouraged by those in authority in all States to support faction or communalism. The policy of ' divide and rule' has always been a favourite one of rulers all over the world. We must be aware of that and we of the States Peoples' Conference should specially avoid anything that savours of communalism. We stand for freedom of the people apart from any religion or creed, and equal rights for all. To give as examples, two major States in India, we stand for exactly the same thing in Hyberabad and Kashmir, or in any other State and that is the peoples' rule and sovereignty.

Speaking of the work of the British Cabinet delegation during the last two and a half months, Pandit Nehru said that the most astonishing part of " this long drawn-out performance " had been the absence of the representatives of the States people from any of these deliberations.

" The States people" he said, " claim to speak for themselves and they will see to it that they are heard. No one else and certainly not their rulers can speak for them."

Referring to Hyderabad, he said it was called the premier State of India, but was also in many ways the most fendal and backward." Alone among the big States of India, it has not yet even evolved any kind of elected or semi-elected assembly. Alone also

it has not yet removed the long-existing ban on the State Congress. This backward State claims independence for itself when the British go.

He remembered a statement made by the Nizam about two years ago that he depended on the British for protection and therefore, British overlordship should continue. It was a frank admission. Well, it is certain enough now that the British will quit India. What then of this protection and what of independence in the State ?

S. PATEL'S SPEECH

Addressing the General Council of the All-India States Peoples' Conference, Sardar Patel advised States subjects not to get involved in isolated direct actions in States at the present moment, but to be patient and carry on agitation peacefully for responsible Government.

The time had arrived, Sardar Patel said, when it was necessary for the Indian people to deal with the States problem on the basis of a collective approach to the Princes as a whole and not to fritter away their energies in isolated battles.

Sardar Patel said that the British had always sided with the Rulers in the suppression of the peoples' right. The Congress realised that the States problem could not be solved unless British imperialism was eliminated from India and hence the slogan of "Quit India."

" We do not want to start any movement in the States," he said. He added: " We have not to make settlement with individual States, but with the entire princely order at one time."

X

Contradiction In Kashmir

(New Delhi, June 12, 1946)

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a statement urged the Kashmir Government to release Sheikh Abdulla and his colleagues and thus remove the root cause of the troubles.

He says : " I have heard different accounts of happenings in Kashmir from individuals and eye-witnesses. I have also met deputations, some officially inspired and representing the official viewpoint, others representing another viewpoint. Entirely contradictory reports had been made to me as to the facts that happened.

Obviously, a searching inquiry is necessary in order to reach the truth. For my part, I believe that during the first days following the arrest of Sheikh Abdulla, the military behaved in a very bad manner and many of the allegations made against them are true or have a strong basis of fact. Later much of this was stopped by the Government. It is clear that one cannot hold the Government directly responsible for every act of the soldiery. What the Govern-

ment is directly responsible for is the use of the military on this scale. When this is done, other consequences normally follow. Two incidents I mention. I should like to be corrected. I have no present information which can substantiate them and I regret that I gave publicity to these incidents without sufficient proof. These two allegations are the burning of bodies of persons killed and the breaking down of a compound wall of the Jumma Masjid. Very probably, the deaths due to firing were much greater than those admitted in the official communique. How all these bodies were disposed of I cannot say without much greater proof than I possess. As regards the allegation about the wall of the Jumma Masjid, it appears that there is a wooden gate and a military lorry passing through accidentally dislodged some bricks of a column. This may have given rise to the story. Anyhow, I am sorry that I stated something which was not correct.

"These are relatively minor matters. The major thing is the nature of the action taken by the Kashmir Government from the arrest of Sheikh Abdulla onwards. I have no doubt that the arrest was wholly uncalled for and unwise and the subsequent action taken through the military was extraordinarily provocative.

"It has amazed me how anyone placed in a responsible position can make the statement made by the Prime Minister of Kashmir. Those statements threw more light on the background of the situation than anything else that I know. He has charged me with being a partisan. He is perfectly right in doing so, for I am a partisan of the people of Kashmir and to the end I stand by them whatever the future may unfold.

"The question is, on whose side is the Government of Kashmir, the people's side or against them? Recent events would indicate that it considers the people of Kashmir as an enemy. If a Government functions in this way, it forfeits all confidence and lays the seeds of trouble."

Continuing Pandit Nehru says: "Behind that, all manner of stories are prevalent, of Communist action in Kashmir, and the example of Azerbaijan is cited. A few Communists have undoubtedly functioned in Kashmir but it is absurd to think that this movement is due to them. It is still more absurd to bring in Azerbaijan. So far as I am concerned, I do not hold with many aspects of Communist policy in India and it is for this reason that in the National Congress, we have parted with them. I should imagine that the policy of the Kashmir Government is more likely to encourage Communist activity than any other policy. The fact is that Kashmir, which is not only beautiful but wealthy in the real sense of the term with enormous resources of potential power and some of the finest artisans and craftsmen in the world, is a country of appalling poverty.

" The fact is that nothing happens in Kashmir to redeem this poverty and raise the level of the masses. Out of this degradation and suffering a powerful people's movement has grown. This movement is essentially national in its outlook, though sometimes communal elements have played a part in it. It is not anti-Hindu, anti-Sikh or anti-anything. The only way to deal with this movement is with friendship and co-operation and with active steps to relieve the burden of poverty. It cannot be suppressed.

" I have unfortunately been tied up here with important consultations and have been unable to go to Kashmir. But Kashmir fills my mind and I shall go there as soon as I can.

" To the Government of Kashmir I would say that you have erred grievously in many things but there is yet time to remedy at least some of the errors. It is never wrong for a Government to retrace a step which has brought trouble in its train. To persist in error is not strength.

" To the people of Kashmir I would first of all extend my deepest sympathy for all they have suffered. To the minorities there, I should like to say that their future must inevitably lie in co-operation with the majority. They do disservice to themselves and Kashmir by isolating themselves. They have every right to live the life of their choice within the structure of freedom which Kashmir must necessarily evolve. They have every reason to stand by their legitimate rights. But it is not a legitimate right to come in the way of the advance of the people as a whole or to claim special privileges which are at the expense of others. So far as I can see, these minorities will have an honourable position in Kashmir, but that position will never be gained by hostility to others and the propagation of communal hatred.

" Sheikh Abdulla is at present in prison with many of his colleagues. That fact alone, is a continuous provocation to many. If that provocation was removed, I am sure peace would come soon enough. For my part, I am not in the habit of giving up a cause I have espoused or a comrade when he is in trouble. I shall stand by the cause of the peoples of Kashmir and of Sheikh Abdulla who is their acknowledged leader and I shall do everything to advance that cause. That means no hostility to any other group, rather it means the good of all who are connected with Kashmir."

ELEVENTH SECTION

Economic Reconstruction

Jawaharlal, unlike Mahatma Gandhi, is not wedded to Khadi and charkha. He believes in a programme of progressive socialism for India. It is difficult for Jawaharlal to think of political progress without economic development, and the economico-political background of his mind has influenced the entire trend of his thinkings, utterances, and writings, but in this section have been comprised only some of his speechs which vividly outline his ideas of economic reconstruction.

I

Anand Bhawan Goes Socialist

(Almora, June 15, 1946)

" I have always a high place for those who have made sacrifices for the cause of India's freedom and I am prepared to offer shelter to every honest servant of the country in my Anand Bhawan," declared Pandit Jawahalral Nehru addressing in Hindustani the first public meeting after his release at Almora.

Pandit Nehru said : " I have come out of the jail after exactly 1,041 days of incarceration. While in jail a prisoner cannot remain in touch with the current world events and he mainly derives his knowledge of whatever happened outside from newspapers. When freed, I found myself a little amazed. I am not at all aware of what Lord Wavell said in his broadcast of the plan which I read in newspapers. The few remaining members of the Congress Working Committee have probably been released. But hundreds of other Congressmen are still behind the prison bars.

Pandit Nehru said that he did not know what happened in August, 1942, and in subsequent months. He had read and heard many things some of which he approved and some of which he did not approve. He could not sit in judgment on the good or evil results thereof.

Referring to his transfer from Ahmednagar Fort to Bareilly Jail early in April last, Pandit Nehru said that three members of the Working Committee were sent to the United Provinces in a strange manner. At Bareilly Jail there were other political prisoners also. Some they met and some they saw from a distance. It was not a matter of pleasure for anyone, declared Pandit Nehru, that hundreds of their co-workers were still in prisons.

Pandit Nehru expressed his disapproval of the manner in which Government dealt with some who tried to assist dependents of absconders and political workers. He referred in this connection to the sentence of one year's rigorous imprisonment imposed on Miss Cathrine Realeman Sarla Devi, an English disciple of Mahatma Gandhi. **Pandit Nehru said he left studying law many years ago, but asked, was it strictly legal for the civilised to refuse water to the thirsty and food to the hungry? If that was the case, Pandit Nehru declared, such Government deserved severe condemnation.**

Discussing the present world situation, Pandit Nehru said that the first war was over. But other difficulties seemed to be cropping up. What would happen in India he did not know. He thought that in this world of revolution we should study all aspects of international situation and prepare ourselves for any sacrifice we might be called upon to make. He advised his audience not to shout unnecessary slogans but act in the light of experience of the past eventful years.

Concluding, Pandit Nehru made a reference to Mrs. Asaf Ali and said that he felt it his duty to declare on his release from jail that, among the hundreds of patriots who had lost their lives, had been hanged or were still suffering in jails, if his voice of affection and recognition could reach Mrs. Asaf Ali, where she might be, what she had done for the country would not be forgotten by him.

II

Progressive Socialism

(Simla, July 8, 1945.)

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, number one Congress nominee for the proposed All-India Executive Council, in an exclusive interview with Mr. Stewart Hensley of United Press of America at Simla advocated " progressive socialism " as a solution for India's multitudinous economic ills."

However, Pandit Nehru who is considered to have the greatest chance to become Member for External Affairs if the Council is created, discounted Soviet influence on India and described the recent American comments that India would look more and more to Russia for inspiration and guidance as considerably wide off the mark.

" While vague socialistic ideas are popularly admired in India and Russian achievements—especially in the Central Asia and in war—have greatly influenced Indian opinion, communism as such is no great force in India at present," Pt. Nehru said.

Pandit Nehru pointed out that the Communist party in India is stronger and better organised than ever since it has been able to function legally in the past three years, but " even so its numbers and influence are most limited. Communists have done good work both in the Bengal famine and elsewhere but having opposed the general trend of the national movement they have created a barrier between themselves and Indian nationalism which greatly lessens their influence outside their own sphere."

While Pt. Nehru envisaged progressive socialism for India he said, " I imagine a great deal of individual freedom and initiative would still be left. In any large scale planning by state which seems inevitable if progress is to be repaid, some measure of state control and direction is necessary and it is difficult to say how far this will go in the initial stages."

Pt. Nehru emphasized, however, that state planning without real national government would merely be continuation of foreign domination. He said that " India is an outstanding example of long arrested development due to many causes, chiefly British economic and political control and the result has been a continuing crisis on land and in industry leading to progressive impoverishment of the people."

Since the rapid progress of new state would require capital and trained personnel any national government would " welcome co-operation of advanced countries especially America in supplying capital goods and experts." Pt. Nehru said.

" But India from long experience of economic domination is most sensitive on this subject and would resist anything lending to the creation of powerful foreign vested interests.

III

Science And Progress

[*Jawaharlal Nehru is a fervent champion of Science and scientific progress. Although he was given his unqualified co-operation to Mahatma Gandhi in his programme of spinning for independence, he thinks that industrialization is essential for winning independence and making it safe for the coming generations of India. He espoused the scientific cause magnificently in 1938, when Congress Ministries were in the saddle, and the following two short speeches are a thoughtful and thought-provoking resume of his scientifico-socialist inclinations*] :

Most of us unhappily are too much engrossed in the business of politics to pay much attention to the finer and more important aspects of life. That is natural, perhaps, in a nation which struggles for national freedom and to rid itself of the bonds that prevent normal growth. Like a person in the grip of a disease, it can think only of how to gain health again, and this obsession is a barrier to the growth of culture and science. We are entangled in our innumerable problems; we are oppressed by the appalling poverty of our people. But if we had a true standard of values or would realize that the silver jubilee of the Indian Science Congress this year is an event of outstanding importance, for that Congress represents sciences and science is the spirit of the age and the dominating factor of the modern world. Even more than the present, the future belongs to science, and to those who make friends with science and seek its help for the advancement of humanity. On this occasion of the silver jubilee I should like to send my greeting to the Indian Science Congress and to the many distinguished Scientists, our own countrymen and our visitors from abroad, who are assembling in Calcutta. He who has chosen to preside over this Congress Session, had to end life's journey before he could come here, but that life itself of distinguished service in the cause of science and great achievement has a message for all of us. Though Lord Rutherford is not here, his written word has come to us, and though the courtesy of the editor I have been able io glance through his presidential address.

Though I have long been a slave driven in the chariot of Indian politics, with little leisure for other thoughts, my mind has often wandered to the days, when as a student I haunted the laboratories of that home of Science—Cambridge. And though circumstances made me part company with science, my thoughts turned to it with longing. In later days through devious processes, I arrived again at science, when I realized that science was not only a pleasant diversion and abstraction but was of the every texture of life, without which our medern world would vanish away. Politics led me to economics and this led me inevitably to science, and the scientific approach to all our problems and to life itself. It was science alone that could solve these problems of hunger and poverty, of insnitation and literacy, of superstition and deadening custom and tradition, of vast resources running to waste, of a rich country inhabited by starving people.

I have read, therefore, with interest and appreciation Lord Rutherford's remarks on the role of science in national life, and the need of training and maintaining research workers. And then, I wondered how far all this was possible under our present scheme

of things. Something could be done, no doubt even now but how little that is what might and should be done. Lord Rutherford tells us of the need of national planning. I believe that, without such planning, little that is worth while can be done. But can this be done under present conditions, both political and social. At every step vested interests prevent planning and ordered development and all our energy and enthusiasm is wasted because of this obstruction. Can we plan on a limited scale for limited objectives? We may do so in some measure, but immediately we come up against new problems and our plans go away. Life is one organic whole, and it cannot be separated into watertight compartments. The Mississipi Valley Committee, writing in their Letter of Transmittal to the Federation Administration of Public Works, U. S. A., refer to this planning business: "Planning for the use and control of water is planning of most of the basic functions of life of a nation. We cannot plan for water unless we also reconsider the revelant problems of the land. We cannot plan for water and land unless we plan for the whole people. It is of little use to control rivers unless we also master the condition which made for the security and freedom for the human life.

And so we are driven back to think of these basic conditions of human life, of the social system, the economic structure. If science is the dominating factor in modern life then the social system and economic structure must fit in with science or it is doomed. Lord Rutherford tells of the need for co-operation between the Scientist and the Industrialist. That need is obvious. So also is the need for co-operation between the Scientist and the Politician.

I am entirely in favour of a state organization of research. I would also like the state to send out promising Indian students in large numbers to foreign countries for scientific and technical training. For we have to build India on a scientific foundation, to develop her industries, to change that feudal character of her land system, and bring her agriculture in line with modern methods to develop the social services, which she lacks so utterly to-day, and to do so many other things that shout out to be done. For all this we require a trained personnel.

I should like our Central and Provincial Governments to have expert boards to investigate our problems and suggest solutions. A politician dislikes and sometimes suspects the scientist and the expert. But without that expert's aid that politician can do little.

And so, I hope, with Lord Rutherford, "that in the days to come, India will again become the home of science, not only as a form of intellectual activity but also as a means of furthering the progress of her people."

IV

In the course of his address to National Academy of the sciences, at their annual meeting

held in Allahabad in 1938, Nehru said :—

You are men of learning, and many of you have distinguished records in the realm of science. Yet you have honoured me, an outsider, with an invitation to participate in this annual gathering of yours and I have most willingly accepted that invitation. Science and academic halls have not known me for many a long year, and fate and circumstances have led me to the dust and din of the market-place, and the field and the factory, where men live and toil and suffer. I have become involved in the great human upheavals that have shaken this land of ours in recent years. Yet in spite of the tumult and movement that have surrounded me, I do not come to you wholly as a stranger. For I too have worshipped at the shrine of science and counted myself as one of its votaries.

Who indeed can afford to ignore science to-day. At every turn we have to seek its aid, and the whole fabric of the world to-day is of its making. During the ten thousand years of human civilisation, science came in with one vast sweep a century and a half ago, and during these 150 years it proved more revolutionary and explosive than anything that had gone before. We who live in this age of science live in an environment and under conditions which are totally different from those of the pre-scientific age. But few realize this in its completeness, and they seek to understand the problems of to-day by a reference to a yesterday that is dead and gone.

We have vast problems to face and to solve. They will not be solved by the politician alone, for they may not have the vision or the expert knowledge ; they will not be solved by the scientists alone, for they will not have the power to do so or the larger outlook which takes everything into its ken. They can and will be solved by the co-operation of the two defined and definite social objective.

That objective is necessary, for without it our efforts are vain and trivial and lack co-ordination. We have seen in Soviet Russia how a consciously held objective, backed by a co-ordinated effort can change a backward country into an advanced, industrial state with an ever-rising standard of living. Some such method we shall have to pursue if we are to make rapid progress.

The greatest of our problems is that of the land, but intimately connected with it is that of Industry. And side by side with these go the social services. All of these will have to be tackled together and co-ordinated together. This is a vast undertaking, but it will have to be shouldered.

Soon after the formation of Congress Ministries, in August last, the Working Committee of the Congress passed a resolu-

tion which should interest scientists and experts. I should like, therefore, to draw your attention to it. It ran thus :

" The Working Committee recommends to the Congress Ministries the appointment of a Committee of Experts to consider urgent and vital problems, the solution of which is necessary to any scheme of National reconstruction and social planning. Such solution will require extensive surveys and the collectoin of data as well as clearly-defined social objective. Many of these problems cannot be dealt with effectively on a provincial basis and the interests of adjoining provinces are interlinked. Comprehensive river surveys are necessary for the formulation of a policy to prevent disastrous floods, to utilize the water for purposes of irrigation, to consider the problem of soil erosion, to eradicate malaria, and for the development of hydro-electric and other schemes. For this purpose, the whole river valleys will have to be surveyed and investigated, and large-scale state planning resorted to. The development and control of industries require also joint and co-ordinated action on the part of several provinces. The Working Committee advises, therefore, that to begin with an inter-Provincial Committee of Experts be appointed to consider the general nature of the problems to be faced, and to suggest how and in what order these should be tackled. The Expert Committee may suggest the formation of special committee or boards to consider each such problem separately and to advise the Provincial Governments concerned as to the joint action to be undertaken."

The rest of resolution dealt with the sugar industry. Something has been done in this latter respect, a Power, Alcohol and other Committees have been appointed, but I wish more had been done. I should like an aggressive and wide-spread tackling of our problems by experts. I should like Museums and permanent exhibitions for the education of our masses, especially the peasantry, to grow up in every district. I remember the wonderful Peasant Museums I saw in the U. S. S. R. and compare them with pitiful agricultural exhibitions that are organised here from time to time. I also remember vividly that splendid and astonishing museum, the Deutsches Museum at Munich, and wonder rather wistfully when some such thing will grow up in India.

It is for this Academy of Sciences to take a lead in all such matters and to advise the Government thereon. The Government should co-operate with them and help them, and take full advantage of their expert knowledge. But the Academy must not just wait for the Government to take the initiative in everything. It is the business of the Government to take the initative, but it is

also the business of the scientists to take the initiative themselves. We cannot wait for each other. We must get a move on.

And so, having taken up so much of your time, I commend you to your labours, and hope that you will have the privilege of serving India and of helping in the progress and advancement of her people.

V

Political Question

[What are the fundamental problems of Indian politics ? Jawaharlal answered every question at a meeting held in London, February 4, 1936 under the auspices of the Indian Conciliation Group. There is hardly an aspect of Indian affairs which was not touched and tackled. Jawaharlal's exposition of the Indian situation is masterly. The questions which he answered are being asked again and again inside and and outside the country. Nobody has grasped them so thoroughly as Nehru. By comprehending his orguments we put. our fingers on the very pulse of the great and intricate problem of independence. Mr. Carl Health, the Chairman, put the following questions to Mr. Nehru :—

(1) Will you outline what is meant by the term Complete Independence of India" ?

(2) Do you recognize the need for an intermediate period of transition, and, if so, does the India Act in any way meet this ? If not, what are the next steps to be taken ?

(3) What is the relation of Indian problem in regard to world problems ? Does the League of Nations help in this connection ?

(4) How far is the communal problem due to economic causes ?

(5) What alternative methods would you use for dealing with the North-West Frontier ? And similarly for the situation in Bengal ?

(6) In what ways can people in this country help ? What part do you think a Conciliation Group can play ?

(7) Should not the Indian National Movement maintain some kind of effective agency in London for the purpose of spreading accurate information ?]

Mr. Chairman and friends, first of all may I point out that, although I happen to have been elected the President of the next

session of the Indian National Congress, I do not speak in any such capacity but entirely on my own behalf. In any event I should not have been able to speak as President of the Congress, but that is especially so because I have been really cut off from my colleagues and the leaders of the Congress Movement in India for a number of years, and it is difficult for me to get into touch with living currents of thought in India without being in that country for sometime.

The questions that have been framed are fairly comprehensive. One could say a great deal about them or deal with them briefly. I suppose it would be best if I tried to deal with them fairly briefly, because there is not very much time at our disposal this afternoon, and I shall try (although I am not likely to succeed) to say only that which is pertinent to the subjects dealt with in the questions.

(1) With regard to the first question : **Will you outline what is meant by the term 'Complete independence for India! ?"** presumably the reference is to this phrase occuring in the first Article of the Congress Constitution. Therein it refers, I take it, to the political side only and not the economic side. Of course, the Congress as a whole is beginning to think on economic lines also and otherwise develope its economic policy, and some of us, including myself, think much more on the lines of economic freedom than on the line of political freedom. Obviously economic freedom includes political freedom. But, defining this phrase simply in its political sense, as it occurs in the Congress Constitution, it means na ional freedcm, not only domestic but foreign, financial, military, *i. e.* control of foreign affairs ; in other words, whatever national freedom usually signifies. **That does not mean necessarily that we lay stress on an isolation of India or a breaking away of India from such associations as might exist with England or with other countries, but it does mean—the word "independence" is used specially to lay stress on the fact—that we want to break the imperialist connection with Britain. If imperialism survives in England, we must part from England, because so long as imperialism survives in England, the only connection between England and India is likely to be the connection of an imperialist domination in India in some form or other.** It may become vaguer and vaguer ; it may become less obvious than it is ; it may even not be obvious on the political side and yet be very powerful on the economic side. Therefore, in terms of imperialist Britain, the independence of India means the separation of India from England. Personally I can conceive and welcome the idea of a close association between India and England on terms other than those of imperialism.

(2) The second question is :—" **Do you recognize the need for an intermediate period of transition, and,**

if so, does the India Act in any way meet this? If not, what are the next steps to be taken?" Whenever any change comes about, inevitably there are all manner of intermediate and transitional phases, but often it so happens that the structure of government becomes rather petrified and does not change rapidly enough, while economic and other changes are inevitably going on, because economic changes do not wait for laws and enactments; they go on while the structure does not change. The result is that in extreme cases there are big upheavals which forcibly change the structure, and those are called revolutions, but even in that case there are transition periods. I take this question refers more to the structure of government than to any intermediate period and it is therefore difficult to answer, because that depends on so many factors. It depends partly on us but largely on the British Government and largely on various forces, national and international. Obviously if there was a mutual arrangement between Britain and the people of India there would inevitably be transitional stages in the process of reaching that goal. It might take a long time, but there would have to be some steps in the process; one cannot suddenly and all at once bring about a big change. On the other hand if there is no possibility of a change being brought about by mutual agreement, then there are likely to be upheavals, and it is difficult to say what the result of an upheaval will be. It depends on the size of the upheaval; it depends on the great economic forces that cause the upheaval, and anything might happen, because, as I conceive it, the fundamental problem of India really is economic in its various aspects. **The chief problem is the land problem, with its enormous amount of unemployment and over-pressure on land, and connected with that is the industrial problem, because probably if one tries to solve the land problem one will have to consider the question of industry.** There are also many other problems, such as unemployment in the middle classes, and they will really have to be tackled all together, so that they may fit into each other, and not individually and separately.

All these problems have to be tackled for many reasons, but the fundamental reason is that the economic situation is growing worse and the condition of the vast masses is going further and further down. They cannot be tackled by merely changing the political structure at the top. The political structure might be such as to help us in tackling the problems, and the real test of the political structure is this: Does it help us and will it make easier for us to tackle these problems and solve them?

With regard to an intermediate period, therefore, all one can say is that there is bound to be some intermediate period. We are passing through an intermediate period now, but whether the development is going to be by arrangement or agreement or by sudden jumps or big jumps, the future alone can show.

In India the Congress and some groups outside the Congress have suggested that the proper and democratic way to deal with the political aspect of the problem is by means of a Constituent Assembly, that is to say, fundamentally the people of India should decide the Constitution of India; they do not admit that the people of India should remain merely passive agents of a foreign authority in regard to the drawing up of such a Constitution. The only way in which the desires of the people of India can take shape is through some such Constituent Assembly. To-day that is not a feasible proposition, simply because it cannot be put into effect unless the British Government itself decides to put an end to its domination in India and leave the Indian people to develop their own Constitution, or, whether the British Government so decides or not, the pressure of events brings it about, because a real Constituent Assembly involves ultimately or, in fact, in the near future after it is formed, the end of British domination in India. A Constituent Assembly does not mean mearly a group of so-called leaders coming together and drawing up a Constitution. The whole idea behind the Constituent Assembly is this : that it should be elected by means of an adult franchise, men and women together, so that there should be really mass representation, in order to give effect to the economic urges of the masses. The present difficulty is that a number of upper middle-class people sit down and, instead of talking in terms of economics, they discuss the question of offices in the new Constitution and who will be appointed to them ; there is a desire to share in the spoils of office, in patronage, and so forth, which the new Constitution might bring, and that partly gives rise to the communal problem. If the mass elements take part in the election of the Constituent Assembly, obviously they will not be interested in getting jobs in the new Constitution; they are interested in their own economic troubles and attention will immediately be given to social and economic issues, whilst some of the other problems, which appear to loom large but are fundamentally not important, will recede into the background, like the cummunal problem.

The second part of the question is : Does the India Act in any way meet the need for an intermediate period of transition ? I have just said the test of a Constitution is this : Whether it helps us to solve the economic problems which face us and which are the real problems. The India Act, as you perhaps know, has been criticized from almost every possible angle by almost every possible group in India, moderate or advanced. I doubt if it has any friends at all in India. If there are a few persons who are prepared to tolerate it, either they belong to the big vested interests in India or they are people who by sheer habit tolerate everything that the British Government does. Apart from these people, almost every political group in India has taken the strongest exception to the India Act. They all object to it and have criticized it in very great detail, and the general feeling is that, far from helping us, it really takes us back and it binds our hands and feet so tightly that we cannos get a move on. All the vested interests in

Britain and in India have found such a permanent place in this Act that any substantial, social or economic change or political change becomes almost impossible, short of revolution. On the one hand, under the India Act we cannot even endeavour to make substantial economic changes; on the other hand, we cannot change the India Act itself. You must not think that in the India Act we are getting some democratic instrument which can be developed into something better. That is not so. You must not apply the analogy of the various steps taken in the Dominions—in Canada and in Australia—in the early stages of the development of self-government in those countries. The problems there were simple; there were simple communities to be dealt with, and, whatever the steps taken were, there was room for inevitable development, and that development did take place. That does not apply to India at all. **To-day India has not to face a simple problem; it has to face a very complicated economic problem and the decision to be taken on that problem cannot be postponed.** Secondly, the India Act is such that it cannot be developed. Of course, there can be development from time to time if the British Government itself changes the India Act, but, as it is even if 99 or 100 per cent. of the people of India want to change it they cannot do so. It has no seeds of change in it; it is a permanent fixing of chains of the vested interest on the Indian people. The only choice that is offered to the Indian people is to submit to it or, if they want to change it, to revolt against it in some form or other. Therefore the India Act does not in any way meet the need for an intermediate period of transition. Under the Act a wider electorate is created, and that is a desirable thing, but it is the only desirable thing in the Act.

(3) The third question is: "**What is the relation of the Indian problem in regard to the world problems? Does the League of Nations help in this connection?** I think that nearly all the major problems that we have to face in the world to-day—in Europe or India or China or America—are intimately connected together, and it is really difficult to understand any one of them or ultimately to solve any one of them without thinking of the other problems. **The different parts of the world to-day are becoming extraordinarily inter-related with each other, and events which happen in one part of the world immediately react and interact upon the other parts of the world. If there is a big thing such as an international war, obviously the whole world is upset. If there is an economic crisis—we have had a very big one in the last few years—that affects the whole world. These big waves and movements affect the whole world, obviously the Indian problem is intimately connected with other problems. Anything big that happens in India obviously affects the whole British group of nations—British imperialism. Anything that**

affects British imperialism makes a great difference in the world, because British imperialism to-day is a very important factor in world politics. So far as India is concerned, it is a well-known fact that India has had the greatest influence on British foreign policy in the last hundred years or so. During the Napoleonic period India loomed large ; although perhaps when you read about the Napoleonic campaigns, you find that India is seldom mentioned, it was in the background all the time. Whether it was the Crimean War or the occupation of Egypt, always there was the question of India in the background and the routes to India. The routes to India have often been before British statesmen. Perhaps some of you may remember that even after the Great War there was idea, fostered by Mr. Winston Churchill and some of the leading figures in British public life, of having an enormous Middle Eastern Empire from the borders of India to Constantinople, but it did not take shape. It sounds rather curious now, but at that time, after the war, all that area was in British occupation ; Persia was in British occupation, and so were Mesopotamia, Palestine, parts of Arabia, and Constantinople. Therefore the idea was not such a fanciful one as it seems to be now, but various things happened to prevent its taking shape ; there was the Soviet Government and there were events in Turkey and Persia and so forth, and the whole thing was upset by various developments. Even so, the object of the British Government was to control the land route to India, because the land route was becoming important, owing to the development of aeroplanes and motor traffic. The question of Mosul nearly brought about conflict between Turkey and England, chiefly because Mosul dominates the land route to India.

Therefore from many points of view, the question of India affects world problems very greatly. Anything that happens to India inevitably affects other countries.

With regard to the League of Nations in this connection, the League of Nations might perhaps help India if the Indian viewpoint was put before it properly and pressed before it, but so far the position has been that India has really nothing to do with the League of Nations except that it is represented on the League. The so-called Indian representatives on the League of Nations are nominated by the Government of India in consultation with the British Government so that they really represent on the League the viewpoint of the British Government ; they do not represent in the slightest Indian public opinion. Therefore you might say that India is not represented at all on the League of Nations, but that the British Government gets an extra representative. If India could be properly represented, I suppose the League of Nations would do some good, although fundamentally the League of Nations, of course, is an organization for the maintenance of the *status quo* in the world, and obviously the Indian people desire to change their *status quo*. Therefore, if they laid any fundamental proposition before the League of Nations, it would probably be barred under some section

of the Govenant or of the rules under which the League functions, on the ground that it would interfere with the domestic policy of the British Empire.

(4) With regard to the fourth question : **"How far is the communal problem due to economic causes?"** This question perhaps is not properly framed (I am partly responsible for that), in the sense that the communal question is not fundamentally due to economic causes. It has an economic background which often influences it, but it is due much more to political causes. It is not due to religious causes ; I should like you to remember that. **Religious hostility or antagonism has very little to do with communal question. It has something to do with the communal question in that there is a slight background of religious hostility which has in the past sometimes given rise to conflict and sometimes to broken heads, in the case of processions and so forth, but the present communal question is not a religious one, although sometimes it exploits religious sentiment and there is trouble.** It is political question of the upper middle classes which has arish partly because of the attempts of the British Government to weaken the national movement or to create rifts in it, and partly because of the prospect of political power coming into India and the upper classes desiring to share in the spoils of office. It is to this extent economic, that the Mohammadans, the Muslims, are on the whole the poorer community as compared with the Hindus. Sometimes you find that the creditors are the Hindus and the debtors the Mohammadans ; sometimes the landlord are Hindus and the tenants are Mohammadans. Of course the Hindus are tenants also, and they form the majority of the population. It sometimes happens that a conflict is really between a money-lender and his debtors or between a landlord and tenants, but it is reported in the Press and it assumes importance as a communal conflict between Hindus and Mohammadans. Fundamentally this communal problem is a problem of the conflict between the members of the upper middle-class Hindus and Muslims for jobs and power under the new Constitution. It does not affect the masses at all. Not a single communal demand has the least reference to any economic issue in India or has the least reference to the masses. If you examine the communal demands you will see they refer only to seats in the Legislature or to various kinds of jobs which might be available in the future.

(5) The next question is : **"What alternative method would you use for dealing with the situation on the North-West Frontier? And similarly for the situation in Bengal?"** Briefly put, the alternative method I would suggest is the method of conciliation plus some kind of effort to deal with the problem on economic lines, because fundamentally the difficulty of the frontier men is scarcity. They live in a hard country, on the mountain sides, and they come down in search of food and loot. Personally I do not think the frontier problem is very difficult of

solution. If a proper and friendly approach is made, I think it ought to be solved fairly easily. As a matter of fact, my own impression is that a similar—not exactly the same, but a similar—problem was faced in the nineteenth century by the Russian Government, that is to say, the old Tsarist Government, because their frontier was fairly near and they had to deal with more or less the same type of people. So far as I know, they never had any great difficulty in dealing with them ; certainly they did not have the amount of difficulty that the British Government has had for a hundred years or so. **If one thing is obvious it is this, that the British Government's frontier policy has been a dismal and total failure. If they are unable to settle the frontier question after having dealt with it for generations, having had every year, or every other year, a military expedition with slaughter and bombing and all the rest of it, obviously there is something wanting in their policy.** The Tsarist Government never had to face, the difficulties which the British Government has to face, the reason being, I think, that the Tsarist Government made it possible for the frontier men to lead a more normal life : they tried to colonize them, to settle them on the land. I am only putting this forward as a suggestion ; I do not know enough about the matter to state definitely why the Tsarist Government did not have the same difficulty that the British Government has in dealing with the frontier men. Anyhow, the population involved is not large, and it should not be difficult to deal with them on economic lines, so that this economic urge might disappear. For the rest, obviously the approach must be friendly and not like the recent approach of the Italians in Abyssinia. That kind of approach has failed completely. **The frontier men are very brave people ; they do not very much care whether they live or die, but they do not like to be dominated. They are freedom-loving people, as mountain people often are, and the British Government has not been able to subdue them permanently. It can conquer them from time to time but it cannot subdue them.**

With regard to a friendly approach, for years past Mr. Gandhi has been invited by the frontier people to go to them. I believe he went to the Frontier Province some years ago, but he has never crossed the frontier or gone right up to it. His name, however, is very well known on both sides of the frontier. He is very popular with the frontier men and repeated invitations have been extended to him to visit them, but the Government has not allowed him to do so. He did not want to go in defiance of the orders of the Government ; he did not want to invite conflict on that issue, so whenever he wanted to go he always referred the matter to the Viceroy or the Government of India," saying : "I have been asked to go there and I should like to go, and he always got the same answer, to this effect : " We strongly advise you not to go."

That was almost tantamount to an order, and so he has not gone. Apart from Mr. Gandhi, the great leader of the Frontier Province, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, has quite an extraordinary influence and popularity all over that region. It is astounding how he has become such a tremendous figure in that area. That in itself, of course, was quite sufficient to make the British Government dislike him intensely. A man who has such a commanding influence over these turbulent Pathans is a man who will not be liked by any Government agency. He therefore, spends his time in prison ; he is in prison at the present moment. After two or three years of detention without trial he came out last year, but he was out for only three months ; and then he was sent back to prison for a two years' sentence, which he is serving now. As you perhaps know he is a member of the highest Congress Executive. He is one of the most popular men not only on the frontier but in the whole of India. You will realize from his name that he is a Mohammedan and not a Hindu. He is one of the greatest Muslim leaders of the masses in India. He occupies one of the highest position in the Congress movement. You must remember that the Congress movement, although it is inevitably composed chiefly of Hindus, has a very stiff backing of Muslims. **Therefore, if Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Mr. Gandhi did go to the Frontier, I think they would have the most magnificent reception there, and they could discuss the Frontier problem there with others. I do not think it would be very difficult to solve that problem. I do not mean to say that such a visit would put an end to all troubles ; that is absurd. Certain troubles will arise again and again, but the foundations of stability could be laid, and if some economic remedies were also applied I think an end could be definitely put to this recurring trouble.**

With regard to Bengal, terrorism in Bengal has gained far greater prominence and advertisement than it really deserves. That it has existed there, and that it exists there now to some extent is undeniable, but after all, when you come to think of it, if in a country like India or a great province like Bengal one or two terrorist acts are committed in the course of two or three years (in the last two years, I think, none have taken place and in the year before there were one or two), although it is deplorable it is not such a terrible thing. We must not lose our sense of proportion in this matter. That is the first fact I want to put before you. Secondly, so far as my knowledge goes (obviously I have no direct immediate knowledge, because I have been in prison for two or three years), there is really no organised terrorist movement now. There was, but I do not think there is now in Bengal, or elsewhere in India. **I do not mean by that that people in Bengal or elsewhere do not believe in methods of violence ; there are many who believe in methods of violence and revolution, but I think that even those who used to believe in acts of**

terrorism do not do so now ; that is to say, the old terrorists, or many of them, still think that in all probability some kind of armed violence might be necessary to fight the dominating power, but they think in terms of insurrection, violence, or some kind of organized revolt ; they do not think in terms of throwing bombs or shooting down people. Many of them, I think, were drawn completely away from the terrorist movement by Mr. Gandhi's peaceful movement, but even those who remained turned away from the purely terrorist attitude which as you know is a very infantile attitude in political movements. When a national movement begins there is always a certain background of sentiment, helplessness and hopelessness, which drives an excited youth to an act of terrorism, but as the movement develops and goes stronger, the energy of the people is directed towards organized activity, towards mass action, and so forth. That has happened in India, and inevitably the terrorist movement has practically ended but the extraordinary amount of terrible repression that has gone on Bengal inevitably gives rise to some reprisals on the part of the old terrorist group. For instance, an individual may become exceedingly bitter because of certain things that have happened to his own friends in his own city. Terrible things are happening there, and as a reaction the individual or two or three individuals may decide on an act of reprisal directed towards the person who did those things. That has nothing to do with terrorism as an organization ; it is purely an individual act of reprisal. Such an act of terrorism sometimes occurs, but, as I have said, even that has not happened for the last two years. Again, the old terrorists are more or less well-known to the police. Many of them are interned or imprisoned and many of them have been executed, but a number of them, I suppose, are still about. I met one of them two or three years ago. He was a big man in the terrorist movement in the old days and he came to see me and said : " I am definitely of opinion that these acts of terrorism are no good. I do not want to do them. I am inducing my people not to do them. But what am I to do ? I am hunted like a dog. I go about from place to place. I know that whenever I am caught I shall have to suffer the death penalty. I do not propose to do that. When I am caught, I shall shoot in self-defence." One often finds that it is when an old terrorist has been rounded up or is on the point of being caught that he shoots. The net closes round him, and he prefers shooting and being shot and dying in that way to being sent to the gallows.

What I mean is this : the movement is not functioning at all in an aggressive way. Sometimes an individual may commit an act of terrorism in a moment of excitement or in self-defence when he is being caught ; otherwise terrorism is over. Obviously when such a a thing happens it has some psychological or other roots from which it arises, and it is quite absurd to deal with it by a permanent system of martial law. **The average military mind can think of a solution to a problem only in terms of martial law, and, unfortunately for us, in India the**

average civilian mind has been functioning largely in a military way. Obviously a terrorist plays with his own life. He may be going to lose his life at the very moment when he commits an act of terrorism. For instance, when a person goes into a crowded hall and shoots another person, obviously his or her life is forfeit. I cannot see how a person who is prepared to give up his life can be terrified by any military measures which may be taken. He knows when he carries out his terroristic enterprise that he is bound to die ; usually he carries a little poison in his pocket and swallows it after the act. What happens is that a large number of innocent people suffer.

(6) The next question is : "In what ways can people in this country help ? What part do you think a Conciliation Group can play ?" That is not a very easy quetsion for me to answer—though I have endeavoured to answer it in various places—because it depends on changing conditions here, but certainly a great deal can be done if people really do take an interest in the Indian problem and think that it requires, both from the point of view of India and from the point of view of the world, a suitable solution. I do not suppose that in the present circumstances individual groups can make very much difference ; that is to say, they cannot change Government policy, though they might affect it in minor matters. But I think such groups can always keep conditions in India in the forefront here. For instance, even now there is no realization amongst the British people of the quite extraordinary amount of repression and denial of civil liberties that is going on in India. I am told that about a month ago there was some reference in Parliament to political prisoners. Some Labour Members raised the question and Conservative Members said : " What ! Are there still any political prisoners in India ?" That question shows the amazing ignorance that prevails on the subject. There is a very large number of people in India who have been detained without trial for five years, six years and various other periods, a large number of ordinary political prisoners are being convicted from day to day and the whole apparatus of repression is functioning from day to day. I think the average Englishman or Englishwoman does not require much detailed knowledge of Indian problems to understand the problem of civil liberty ; the average English person does feel that civil liberty is a desirable thing and, when the facts of the situation in India are put before him, he is somewhat shocked ; he dislikes the utter denial of civil liberty in India. I think a great deal can be done by keeping all these facts before the people of this country, and much can be done in that way by co-operation between various groups. I believe there is a National Council for Civil Liberties here, and that could usefully co-operate with other groups in the direction I have indicated.

With regard to specific Indian problems, especially the economic conditions, the way in which the political problem depends on the economic problem is of importance, because when that subject is considered the political proplem is viewed in its proper perspective. Otherwise your function in the air, as we have been functioning at these Round Table Conferences and other conferences. A number of lawyers sit down and produce a paper Constitution which has no relation to the existing facts or position in India but has relation to only one fact, that is, that the vested interests in India want to perpetuate their exsitence.

Therefore any group in this country can certainly help the cause of India and not only the cause of India but, as I think one might say, having regard to the question of civil liberties and other matters which are involved, the cause of humanity. A group could go much further if it decided to adopt the political and economic standpoint of the advanced groups but however far it goes, it can, I think, function effectively.

As for the Conciliation Group, I have been told that it is not an organization but a group with no specially defined limits. Such a group, I think has done good work in the past, and I believe it can certainly do good work in the future. I have suggested that it would be desirable for the various groups interested in India as a whole or in particular question, such as the question of civil liberties, to keep in touch with each other. They need not merge into each other, because they have different outlooks. There is no reason why one group should adopt the outlook of another group. One may not be prepared to commit itself to some points to which another group is committed, but still they may have a great deal in common. There is no reason why they should not occasionally meet together or representatives of them confer together, so that their activities might not overlap but might supplement each other.

(7) The last question is: "**Should not the Indian National Movement maintain some kind of effective agency in London for the purpose of spreading accurate information?**" I think that would be a highly desirable thing, and I doubt whether anybody would object in principle to it. You must remember that during the last six years India has gone through a very abnormal period. During four years of that time the Congress has been an illegal movement. **We always hover on the edge of illegality, we do not know when we might be termed illegal, our funds confiscated, our property confiscated, and our offices confiscated.** That makes it a little difficult to develop a foreign agency in the ordinary way, but certainly this is desirable, and I should very much like to have some kind of information bureau here and, it may be, in some other parts of Europe, to function, apart from questions

of propaganda, by giving accurate information and providing books and papers, so that people who want that information might be able to obtain it.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think we must all feel that in dealing with these questions Mr. Nehru has given us a series of pictures of the main problems of India to-day, and he has done so in an extraordinarily interesting and lucid way. He will now answer any questions that members or the audience may like to put.

QUESTION: We sometimes meet with the objection or the criticism that if the British withdrew from India it would only open the way for Japan. It used to be Russia, but now it is Japan that is mentioned in that connection. Might we hear Mr. Nehru's opinion on that?

MR. NEHRU: It seems to me that the people who say but do not know very much about the present position or the probable future position of Japan with regard to India. The question can be considered in many ways but I would put it to you briefly thus: How do you expect Japan to come to India, by sea or by land? Do you expect Japan to come to India after having subjugated the whole of China or before it has done so?

You must realize that it takes a little longer to go from India to Japan than it takes to go from India to England by sea. By the land route, by air, it takes a very little time to go from England to India, but it takes a very long time to go to Japan. One cannot too easily cross over the Himalayan Mountains and the various deserts and other tracts of China. Therefore you must realize that India is not very easily accessible to Japan if Japan goes through China, so Japan has to come by a fairly intricate route through the Singapore Straits, and any hostile fleet could make it difficult for the Japanese to approach India. Even so, of course, Japan might come, but the real point is this, that Japan can never think in terms of the conquest of India so long as it has not completely subjugated China and made it part of its Empire. **The conquest of China is a very difficult matter. At the moment Japan has overrun North China and it may perhaps extend further south, but I do not think that anyone acquainted with the history of China or the present position of China or the international position, imagines that Japan is likely to succeed in consolidating her Empire in the whole of China.** China is a tremendous problem for Japan, and even if it is conquered, it will continue to be a problem and something which will really absorb the energies of Japan and probably bring about its downfall. **Look at Japan as it stands to-day as a World Power. It seems very strong. Nobody interferes with Japan's territorial instincts and activities. It does what it lies in North China and Manchuria. Yet fundamentally the position of Japan in the**

world is very unhappy position. It is isolated from the rest of the world ; it has no friends in the world. On the one side there is a tremendous power, America, and there is not much love lost between Japan and the United States of America. On the other side China, which, although weak in one sense is very strong in many ways. It is strong fundamentally, because its passive strength is great ; its inertia is terrible. But, even apart from that, the weakness of China to-day in the fact of aggression is very largely due, I think, to the fact that some of the Chinese leaders are false to China ; they are betraying China. It is not so much the weakness of China as the weakness of her leaders Chiang Kai-shek and others, and this may lead to the overthrow of Chiang Kai-shek and some kind of a combined and powerful resistance later on. Therefore, in any event, Japan would have a hostile China to deal with whether it was subjugated or not. **With America on one side and China on the other, and the Soviet Republic in the north, which is always likely to be hostile, that Japan should embark on an adventure in India, three weeks' journey away, is to me inconceivable. Then, of course, India presumably would not sit idle. It may not be a strong country, but obviously it would do its utmost to defend itself against any aggression.**

QUESTION : We do not want to talk about only this aspect of the question, but I should like to say that Mr. Nehru seemed to me, in talking about this, to refer only to the internal aspect of the North-West Frontier question. Surely it has an external aspect also, and has had such an aspect for the last hundred years. We need not go so far as China and Japan and the Far East to consider that, because even in the very latest pronouncement of the Government of India, reference is made to the danger—a very immediate and close danger—of Russian aggression. There we come up against that imperialistic policy which has dominated the whole of the history of the North-West Frontier, and that imperialism which Mr. Nehru says must be got rid of before he can come to any terms at all with Great Britain. **What will be the position on the Nehru-West Frontier if that imperialism is really discarded ?** What will be the position as regards the security of India if that imperialism, which means constant jealousy and suspicion between the two great Powers, Soviet Russia and Great Britain is finally abolished ? What will be the position with regard to the defence policy of India, and what will then be the result in the organization and the cost of the Indian army ?

Mr. NEHRU : The result of the allaying of that suspicion would be peace and contentment on the frontier. With regard to the defence of India against Soviet aggression.—

QUESTION : And Afghanistan ; that is also an element.

Mr. NEHRU : Yes, an element. **Afghanistan is an unadvanced, industrially backward country, and as an effective military force it is strong only within its own territories. It is a difficult country to invade, because it is a mountainous country and the people are good fighters, but as an invading country it has no strength at all, so we can leave Afghanistan out of consideration.**

With regard to Soviet Russia, the first proposition is that there is no Power in the world to-day which is more peaceful and less inclined to aggression than Soviet Russia. I think that is admitted by everybody ; it is publicly admitted by the British Foreign Office ; in fact the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Eden, said so the other day.

QUESTIONER : The Government of India does not say that, it says the exact opposite.

Mr. NEHRU : For various reasons, you can examine that Soviet Russia from an economic point of view does not require India in the least, as Japan might, because India is a source of raw materials for England. Raw materials exist in sufficient quantities in Soviet territories. In minor matters India might help. Fundamentally Soviet Russia does not require India ; it has not that economic urge. At the present moment it is absolutely full of its own economic problems of development, and it wants to take no risk at all of war or adventure. Obviously an invasion of India is a very big risk, not so much beeause of the strength of India but because any such thing involves to-day international complications, whether the invader is Japan or Russia. If Japan comes to India, it is not a question merely of defeating the people of India, but there is the risk of having to fight on various fronts. Other Powers step in and international complications are introduced. So that Russian policy to-day (nobody can say what will happen thirty years hence) is bound to be an extraordinary peaceful policy ; there is no doubt about that. If it were not, Russia would immediately be afraid of trouble from Japan in the East and from Germany in the West. We know that many European countries fear Russia to-day. The biggest factor at work is a great fear complex of being attacked, and so the countries go on increasing their military machines. So that there is no question of expecting, in th ordinary course, an invasion from Russia. So far as I am personally concerned, I very largely approve of the Russian system of government, and I hope some such thing will extend to India. I think we ought to be the most friendly of neighbours instead of being in conflict with each other. But, apart from that obviously India, whatever its system of government is, whether socialist or not, will have to take steps to guard her frontiers.

QUESTIONER : Against whom ?

Mr. NEHRU : It does not matter. The steps taken may not be very extensive, but will have to take some steps. If the world continues to be divided into various capitalist States, armies will have to be kept. It is relatively easy, I think, to protect India on the North-West Frontier. You have probably read histories of various invasions of India from the north-west, but those histories exaggerate a little. There have been invasions, but if you spread them out over a period of two or three thousand years they have not been so frequent as some people seem to think. Those invasions took place not because of the strength of the attacking force but because at the time there was internal trouble in India, and the attacking force simply walked in. An attacking force can always be stopped on the North-West Frontier by an efficient army without any great numbers being employed. An efficient defence force must be built up to defend India from invasion ; one has to face the risk of these things. One of the countries suffering most from a terrible fear of invasion is also at the same time one of the most powerful countries in the military sense, that is, France is terribly afraid of a Nazi invasion, and yet it has one of the biggest military machines in the world.

QUESTION : The question has not actually arisen in the course of Mr. Nehru's addresses, but it might be of interest to know what is view with regard to the contributions that may be expected from Indian women in the regeneration of India.

Mr. NEHRU : Those contributions have been considerable. Indian women in the last fifteen or sixteen years have played a tremendous part in our national movement. You may remember that in 1930 Mr. Gandhi started the Civil Disobedience Movement in connection with the Salt Tax, and I think the most important and significant feature of that movement was the tremendous part that the women of India took in it. It was astonishing. Most of us were astounded what we saw. It was not as if we had to push them out ; they simply came out and took charge of the situation when most of their menfolk were in prison, and they functioned in an extraordinarily efficient way. The surprising thing was that, although many of them had had no experience of public activity, yet they became good organizers and they ran the whole movement practically without any men for a long time. They ran it not only very well but in a much more uncompromising way than the men

might have done ; they did become much more uncompromising about it in every way. That was such a eye-opener that I do not think after that any person in India dares say that the women of India are going to play a subordinate part in the public life of India in the future. Of course, as you know, they have suffered in the past and they still suffer from a large number of social and semi-religious disabilities. Theg are trying to remove them, and to some extent they have to fight the inevitable reactions of men in that process. Certain orthodox elements in the community are trying to prevent them from removing these disabilities, but I think they are sufficiently alive to their task, and I do not think anyone can really stop them from carrying it out. So far as the national movement is concerned, the mere fact that such large numbers of women have taken such a large part in it, makes it absolutely impossible for any nationalist to conceive of keeping them down in any political or social sense. The Fundamental Rights Resolution which the Congress passed some years ago, laid down as a fundamental right in the Constitution, the removal of all disabilities and the absolute equality of women with men in the eyes of the Constitution.

QUESTION :—In your answer to the fourth question, regarding the communal problem, you suggested, I think, that the religious element was a small part of it and that it was not primarily economic, but that it resolved itself into political jealousy and political ambitions. How do you see it resolving in the light of the national movement ? Do you feel that the central national aim would be so big that it would bring all the parties together ?

Mr. NEHRU : No, first of all I said that the communal movement was not religious, but that does not mean, of course, that there is not a religious background in India, and sometimes that is exploited. It is political mainly. It is also economic in the sense that the political problem largely arises because of the problem of unemployment in the middle classes, and it is the unemployment among the middle classes that helps the communal movement to gain importance. It is there that the jobs come in. To some extent the growth of nationalism and the nationalist spirit suppressed the communal idea, but fundamentally it will go when economic issues and social issues come to the forefront and divert the attention of the masses, and even of the lower middle classes, because these issues really affect them, and inevitably then the communal leaders would have to sink into the background. That happened in 1921, at the time of the first Non-co-operation Movement, when no communal leaders in India dared to come out into the open. There was no meeting held and there was no reference to them in the papers. They disappeared absolutely because there was such a big movement on other issues. As soon as big political movement starts the communal leaders come to the forefront. They are always being pushed to the front by the British

Government in India. Therefore the right way to deal with the communal question is to allow economic questions affecting the masses to be discussed. One of the chief objections to the India Act is that, because it divides India into seven or eight—I am not sure how many—separate religious compartments, it makes it difficult for economic and social questions to be brought up. Of course they will come up, because there is the economic urge behind them, but still it makes it difficult.

QUESTION : **Do not you think caste comes into the communal question at all. Brahman against non-Brahman ?** That is a matter we know so well, in Madras.

Mr. NEHRU : I do not think the communal question is affected much by caste. In South India, of course, the question of caste comes in, and it has given rise to great bitterness. I was thinking more of Hindus *versus* Muslim. I am not personally acquainted with conditions in the South in recent years, but it used to be more a question of non-Brahman *versus* the vested interest. Taking the depressed classes, they really are the proletariat in the economic sense ; the others are the better-off people. All these matters can be converted into economic terms, and then one can understand the position better. **I do not think the Brahman and the non-Brahman question as such is very important now. There is a very large number of non-Brahmans in the Congress. In the Congress the question does not rise. It has some importance in local areas in the South, because of various local factors, but I do not think the question of Brahman and non-Brahman comes into the communal question at all.**

QUESTION : Referring to the present Government of India Act the possibility of its becoming a transition to something that India had which could not possibly be given any expression under the present Act and would lead to clashes. **Could Mr. Nehru tell us what, in his opinion, is the way that India should develop in regard to economic arrangements and systems ?**

Mr. NEHRU : Whatever I say on this subject will be my own personal view, because I cannot say that India as a whole desires what I desire.

Fundamentally we have to face the land problem chiefly, and the problem of unemployment, which is connected with it. **I think that nothing short of large-scale collectivist or co-operative farming will deal effectively with the land question. These wretched small holdings will then disappear.** Production will greatly increase and many other benefits will follow, but unemployment would not be affected thereby. In fact, by scientific farming, it is possible that unemployment might

even increase a little, as far as direct employment on the land is concerned, though indirectly other avenues of employment would be opened up. In order to provide employment we must absorb people in industrial development, in cottage industries, in big machine industries and in the enormous development of the social services, such as education, hygiene and sanitation. There are practically no social services in India to-day. The development of industry and the land would have to be planned as a whole ; it cannot be dealt with in sections. If one tries to tackle one part, one finds something left over which one cannot provide for. The whole basis should be, in my opinion, not the profit motive, but producing for consumption, because if we produce for profit the result is that we simply glut the market ; we cannot sell the goods, because people have no money with which to buy them, and so we get over-production while at the same time many people have nothing at all. We should organise on the Socialist basis and have large-scale agriculture, co-operative or collectivist, big machine industries and cottage industries. The cottage industries must not be such as would be likely to conflict with big industries, because then they would collapse, but I think there will be plenty of room for the growth of cottage industries for a long time to come, simultaneously with the growth of big industries. If big industries are not developed on a capitalist basis, they will deal with the essentials which are required and there will be no needless waste of energy. If all these things are taken together, imagine we might go a little way towards the solution of the various problems that confront us. I do not see any movement in that direction under present conditions.

QUESTION : You mean something similar to the Soviet system of the organization of industry and agriculture ?

Mr. NEHRU : I personally should like to have something similar to that, but I was really envisaging something much less for the moment. **I do not want India to be drilled and forced into certain position, because the costs of such drilling are too great ; it is not worth while ; it is not desirable from many points of view. I want to go in the direction I have indicated ; I may not be able to go far, but that in the direction in which I want to go. I have expressed my personal view, and I do not speak for India.**

THE CHAIRMAN : I should like to thank Mr. Nehru for the way in which he has dealt with all the questions that have been put to him, and to assure him of our deep interest and gratitude. I hope he will go back to India with the knowledge that there are some people in this country who really do desire not merely to be sympathetic towards India—that is very easy—but to understand the tremendous problems of that great country. We shall watch with interest the events that take place when Mr. Nehru goes back to India, and when he takes up the formidable position of President of the Congress.

A NOTE ON THE LAND PROBLEM

Any radical change in the land system, involving large-scale co-operative and collectivist farming, must be preceded or accompanied by the ending of the present zamindari or landlord system wherever it prevails. The question arises as to whether compensation should be given to the landlords so dispossessed. If the change can be brought about by peaceful and democratic method, it would be desirable to give some compensation and so avoid a conflict, which is likely to be wasteful and more costly than the compensation itself. But it must be borne in mind that anything in the nature of full compensation is utterly out of question especially in so far as the big landlords are concerned. To give such compensation in the shape of bonds would be to mortgage the future of the land and to continue almost the same burden on the peasantry though in another form. Therefore a form of compensation would have to be devised which removed this burden and at the same time lessened the distress and upsetting which a change-over would bring to the landlord groups. Probably the compensation would be proportionately less higher up in the scale—the middle landlords getting proportionately more than the bigger ones.

It should be remembered that the word 'landlord' is rather a misleading one. In the United Provinces (a zamindari province) there are a million-and-a-half so-called landlords. Probably about 85 per cent of them are no better than the tenants class, and many are worse off than the better-off tenants. There can be no question of depriving them of anything ; they stand in need of further help and of a reduction of their burdens—debt, revenue, etc. Of the remaining 15 per cent., only a tiny fraction of 1 per cent. are really biggish landlords— about 5,000 in all—and about 1,000 of these might be considered the big landlord whose incomes from land vary from about Rs. 12,000 to Rs. 5,000,000 per annum. Those whose incomes run into millions are a mere handful, of course.

During the recent depression and fall in agricultural prices the position of the landlord has steadily deteriorated, and many of the middle landlords are on the verge of bankruptcy. The moneylender holds them as well as the tenants, in his grip. Some recent legislation has slightly eased the position *vis-a-vis* the moneylender, but it does not go nearly far enough.

Apart from the landlord and the tenant, there are large numbers of the landless proletariat, who are largely unemployed or only partially employed during the harvesting and other seasons.

The problem in those parts of India where the zamindari system does not prevail (Punjab, Gujarat, South India) and there is peasant proprietorship, is somewhat different. These peasant proprietors are much better off than the tenants of the zamindari areas,

but latterly they have also deteriorated greatly. Behind them again are the landless classes, many of these being the so-called depressed classes.

Questions of compensation and the like arise only when an attempt is made, as it should be made, to have a peaceful change-over from one system to another. In the event of upheavals, brought on by delay in making the necessary changes in time, it is impossible to say how matters will shape themselves.

TWELFTH SECTION

People's War

India fought a stout people's war in 1942, and that war continues even to-day. The issues behind Quit India' are still undecided, and so the people's war is in progress. Great revolutionary forces have rocked this sub-continent, and people have cultivated a considerable amount of vital Energy. In this section have been comprised such speeches of Jawaharlal as deal with powers working for the immediate political rejuvenation of India.

I

Happenings Of 1942.

(New Delhi, August 29, 1945)

"I am prepared to take all responsibility for the happenings of 1942, because I am responsible for creating those conditions in the country," declared Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing this evening one of the largest rallies in the recent years, in the Gandhi grounds.

The crowds at the meeting are estimated at 100,000 including several thousand women, all approached to the Gandhi grounds, the walls outside, roofs, balconies and other places swarmed with people.

Pandit Nehru in his ninety minute speech spoke of the 1942 movement and said that it was true that the movement was not started by any Congress declaration, but when all the leaders were arrested over night the masses could not tolerate it. The people took it to be an attack on the independence of the country. They had only two alternatives either to submit to the Government or to take up the challenge. He was glad and proud of the movement which followed ; he would have felt very sorry if the country had not taken up the challenge.

The movement was responsible for creating new spirit in the country.

Pandit Nehru said they were passing through in age of great revolutions. In this atomic bomb age, he said, the demand for Pakistan was a hoarse and meaningless cry. At this time the question was not how to divide the country, but how to draw several countries together in order to defend themselves against great Powers. In this age small countries had no place. He said not even Mr. Jinnah had defined Pakistan. He referred to the speech of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in which he had clarified the self-determination clause. The Congress had made its position clear that if any part of India wanted to break away nobody could stop it forcibly. But in the Punjab, he said, Pakistan raised a complex question. How could a vast number of Sikhs and Hindus live in Pakistan? Similar was the case in Bengal.

Referring to the coming elections Pandit Nehru said the Congress had not yet decided to fight the elections to the Provincial and Central Legislatures, but he resumed that at its next meeting the Congress will decide to fight the elections as it did in 1936.

Concluding Pandit Nehru asked Delhi Congressmen to start enrolment of primary Congressmen in the province immediately since Congress Committees in Delhi had been legalised. He asked the people to contribute liberally towards the political sufferers relief fund which was meant for the relief of the families of those political prisoners who had been in the Congress movement.

II

Britain Should Leave India

(Nagpur, July 4, 1946)

Indians at the moment being a subject nation, they could not help China. Unless India was free she could not give China any help, declared Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting this afternoon convened by the Nagpur Town Congress Committee.

Pandit Nehru added that Britain professed to be fighting for freedom and democracy. Yet she denied these to people in her empire. The result was that subjugated people like India developed resentment and hatred towards Britain. That was the reason why Malaya and Burma fell so quickly. If India was given her freedom Indians would fight with the same zeal and enthusiasm as the Chinese and Russians. For a presentday war a nation's full co-operation was essential. The present Government of India could not get that co-operation.

BRITISH SHOULD LEAVE INDIA

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing the gathering said that the Government of India continued to follow their peace-time policy

of sowing seeds of disunity which became evident from the Cripps proposals. The Government's discrimination against Indians in the treatment of evacuees caused resentment. As long as the Government's treatment was such her for one could not support such a Government. But, said Pandit Nehru, events were fast moving in the world and India could not remain unaffected. Indians could not sit idle. At the present time it was essential that the British should leave India for the protection of the country and for helping China. If only the British Government declared that they would leave the country, India could form a provisional Government in two or three days and then decide on its policy for meeting aggression and helping China.

Pandit Nehru added that unfortunately Mr. Jinnah's whole attention was towards the British Government. He wanted the British Government to do everything for him. The same attitude was being adopted by the Mahasabha. For the sake of our own freedom and for the good of the world we should decide what we should do now. In a world where revolutionary changes were taking place Indians could not remain aloof. He wanted India to rise from its slumber. Even if ten to fifteen lakhs of people had to die, they must be ready for it.

III

The Problem Before Congress

(Wardhaganj, July 8, 1945)

"The Congress position is very much changed since Sir S. Cripps departure," observed Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru in a special interview to the British and American press correspondents to-day.

The following representatives of the Press were present :—

Mr. John Morris (American United Press), Mr. Grover (American Associated Press and Chicago "Daily News") Mr. Young ("Daily Express"), Mr. Emeney ("News Chronicle"), Mr. Salivatee ("Daily Herald"); the latter three are British papers.

"The Congress is not prepared to accept what it was willing then", continued Pandit Nehru. "The rank and file felt great relief when negotiations failed. I would have got passive approval of the Congress to the settlement with Cripps, but now it is not possible even to secure a passive approval."

Referring to Gandhiji's new movement, Pandit Nehru said ; "The fundamental way to look at it is how ultimately to increase the strength in public. I will not take that step. I cannot give active support to the British Government, even if I want, after the Burma chapter." Here Pandit Nehru said that

a feeling was prevalent even in rural areas and bazars that the British Government was not serious in defending India. He referred to certain instructions issued to civil administration in Bengal.

Pandit Nehru proceeded : " Things are shaping in such a manner that the people are becoming more passive and suddenly submissive. My fear is that if things are allowed to take their course they will get prepared to submit to Japanese Invasion. The feeling of submission to Britain leads to the feeling of submission to Japan. I want non-submission and development of resistance to the invader."

Pandit Nehru continued : " It is obvious that any step we may take against the British Government may be full of perils, but on the other hand not taking any step is still more perilous. We have to choose the lesser evil. It has become highly important to raise the spirit of resistance ultimately to resist the Japanese. By passively submitting to things in India to-day, that spirit of resistance is actually crushed. The problem before the Congress is to take such a step and to increase the peoples' spirit of resistance in such a way, so as to avoid creating a situation which might temporarily help Japan or any invader. This may not be possible for the time, because the step we propose to take might involve non-submission to British authority, creating further complications. But in whatever we do, our desire and intention are clear, that we do not wish to injure the cause of China or the defence of India."

IV

Immediate Independence

(Allahabad, July 31, 1945)

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressed the Journalists Association last night on the present political and international situation for over two hours. The Hon. Mr. P. N. Sapru presided.

Pandit Nehru was, earlier, entertained to tea and among guests present were Mr. Othman K. Woo, Representative of the Chinese Islamic Federation. Mr. T. K. Ghosh, Editor of the " Amrit Bazar Patrika ", Acharya J. B. Kripalani, Mr. Sadik Ali, Office Secretary of the A.-I. C. C., Miss A. Moore, an American journalist and Dr. Bal Krishna Deskar of the Foreign Department of the A.-I. C. C.

Without the recognition of our basic standpoint of immediate declaration of independence, any round table conference, as suggested by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, would not be acceptable to us because that would be going back to the old method which had proved a complete failure and every time a trap, said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, answering a question put to him. The whole conception of having to sit at the feet of power is repugnant to us.

Asked if American or Chinese intervention would be acceptable in the present situation. Pandit Nehru said that it would be acceptable but only on the basis of the main question of our independence and as allies and friends.

Asked what value he attached to the declared dissatisfaction of the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Depressed Classes to the present stand of the Congress, Pandit Nehru said it would be arrogance on his part to say that he attached no value to it, but he said that he did not attach over much value to it. He said that there could be no disagreement on the fundamental issue of India's immediate independence. As for the provisional national government was concerned, it could be of a composite nature, representing all the major parties and groups, including the Congress and the Muslim League.

There was no room for negotiation on the question of our independence, reiterated Pandit Nehru. Granted that, of course, details are always negotiable between the parties and groups concerned.

V

Flame of Freedom Runs Through Us All

(Allahabad, March 4, 1946)

"The India people to-day are proud and virile and determined to be free. That flame of freedom runs through us all, whether we are civilians or army men. It is in this context that every situation has to be judged," says Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in the course of statement issued to the press on the strike of signal men and others, belonging to the India Army at Jubbulpore.

Pandit Nehru says, "Friends and colleagues in Jubbulpur have pressed me to visit the city in view of the situation that has risen there owing to the strike of the signal men and others belonging to the Indian Army. Such facts as are known have been supplied to me. I gather that the strikers have remained completely peaceful; further that on February 28, a considerable number of them were injured, some seriously, by some kind of a bayonet charge made upon them, in their barracks. The striker's demand was for better treatment between Indian and British soldiers. There were also some political demands.

"Such demands should not normally be made the basis of strike. They involve large issue, and indeed in the last analysis the issue of India, it should be for the nation to decide through its leaders and representatives. It is undesirable for any group to face the issue."

"In regard to the demands for better treatment and no differentiation every Indian must invariably sympathise with them.

The soldiers in our armies have been through many years of gruelling war time experience. In all armies, there is a feeling of weariness and a desire to go home. We have seen recently strikes in the personnel of America and British armies.

DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT TO INDIA

"In armies there is ever-present feeling of a resentment about treatment accorded to Indian officers and other ranks alike. What was meekly submitted to previously, can no longer be borne, for the Indian people to-day are proud and virile, and determined to be free. That flame of freedom runs through us all whether we are civilians or army men. It is in this context that every situation has to be judged." We all want discipline. But discipline to-day must be considered in this new context, and not as a slave discipline of former times. The problem thus becomes one of India's freedom and a re-fashioning of our civil and military structure, in the light of that freedom. Merely to suppress and punish in the old way is futile, for it makes the problem more acute.

"I trust that the military authorities in India will have this picture of India to-day in their minds and function accordingly. To Indian soldiers I would say, that their cause is ours. It is the nation's. Our ultimate object is the freedom and independence of India. We are happy that the old barriers between army men and civilians in India, are breaking down.

NEW SITUATION

"This new situation brings new responsibilities on all of us, and we must not function light-heartedly, or else we waste the opportunity that awaits us.

"Soldiers and civilians alike should indulge in non-violence, for the obvious reason, apart from other reasons, that violence will benefit our opponents, who have superior violence on their side.

VIOLENCE IS OF NO HELP

"So whatever our struggle might be, it should be conducted peacefully, and in a disciplined manner. It is right that civilians should express their sympathy for legitimate demands, but they must realise that violence is of no help.

"We want no victimisation of our men, in the navy, the army or the air force. They are brave young men, and even if a few go astray in a moment of excitement, a wise policy is to deal with them leniently, and in a friendly manner. In any event so far as we are concerned, we shall try our best to prevent victimisation, but it is obvious

that we can make no promises or give any guarantee, for only a free India can do that. One promise we can, and will give, to struggle for India's freedom and independence, till this is achieved."

VI

India Sitting on Edge of Volcano

(*Jhansi, March 2, 1946*)

"If the British Cabinet Mission fails to solve the pressing and urgent problem which are clamouring for a solution a political earthquake of devastating intensity would sweep the entire country," declared Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing a large gathering on his way to Allahabad.

Pandit Nehru said, "we put severe restraint on ourselves for long but none can say how long this self-imposed restraint would continue or continue at all. The whole country is under throes of serious disappointment and is in a revolting mood. We are sitting on the edge of a volcano which may burst at any moment. A spark may burst at any moment ablaze in Bombay, Calcutta and Karachi ; these pre-storm conditions are not limited to big cities only but they are found even in the remotest villages of the country. The truth is that people are tired and fed up with foreign domination and want to end it immediately."

"We would talk to the Cabinet Mission as free people of one country talk to peple of another free country. Congress will try to settle urgent, pressing and fundamental issues by negotiation and compromises, because we do not want the country to pass through fiery ordeals every now and then if it be avoided. But one thing I wish to make abundantly clear is that Congress is not prepared to withdraw even an inch from its stand and its demand for complete independence would hold field at all costs."

VII

The Iron Wall

(*Bombay, March 3, 1946*)

Referring to the naval strike in Bombay Pandit Nehru said : " This strike has a great political importance. Our boys in their zeal might have done a few things with which we may disagree but that cannot minimise its importance or wash away powerful reactions which this created in the country. This event demonstrates in which direction the mind of the Indian army is working. It has also shown that the iron wall which the Britishers created between the Indian army and the Indian

people has collapsed and broken to pieces and the Indian army men who mostly hail from the peasant class are as keen to the political and economic exploitation as their brothers in fields and factories."

Continuing Pandit Nehru revealed that the three Indian officers Messrs. Shah Nawaz, Sehgal and Dhillon were not released due to Indian demonstration as is generally believed but they were released due because Indian army had demanded their release and expressed sympathy in unmistakable terms with them.

Pandit Nehru said that 1946 would be most eventful and decisive year for India. He said the 150-year old British rule in India has almost come to an end.

"One thing is clear from the historical point of view. The British also realised it and therefore they no longer talk in terms of political reservation to themselves. They want to know from us if we would give trade facilities in a free India. Well, let us tell them frankly it all depend on how you quit this country. If you leave a trail of bitterness behind we cannot have truck with you."

Pandit Nehru characterised Muslim League as an "organisation of Nawabs and Taluqadars" and said that they raised the Pakistan slogan only to side-track the country's main problem of poverty and starvation on the one hand feudalism and capitalism represented by a handful of persons on the other. Pandit Nehru added that the League, Akali, Unionist, Hindu Sabha, and Communists parties were all allies of British in the present state of the Indian situation.

Pandit Nehru was presented with gold and silver of his own weight following his refusal to have himself weighed against gold and silver.

VIII

What is Mutiny ?

Asked what was a mutiny, Pandit Nehru said : "I understand in official, army and any other parlance, there is no such thing as a strike. Everything is a mutiny. If two persons sign a letter together, it is a mutiny. A letter of protest or any kind of joint letter, I believe, officially, is considered a mutiny."

VICTIMISATION OF R. I. N.

"I understand" said Pandit Nehru, "that even apart from what the Commander-in-Chief said in his broadcast, instructions have been issued, which can only be interpreted to mean that there is going to be a great deal of victimisation, in every sense of the word and not only victimisation, but a measure of terrorisation. That is, ratings, and others in the navy, are being first of all picked out for some kind of action against them. Secondly, where there is

not even evidence for that, it is suggested something should still be done so as to have an opportunity of punishing people against whom there is no evidence.

" Such a course of action, is bound to have repercussions not only on public opinion, but on the armed forces, in the country.

"It shows quite an extraordinary lack of foresight, from even the narrowest point of view."

As to what the Congress proposed to do in case of such victimisation, Pandit Nehru said : "As I suggested yesterday, we ask for a public trial. Where there is going to be a trial, it should be public. Secondly, the Congress proposes to organise defence of those who are being tried."

That was as far as he could see for the moment in regard to those matters

Pandit Nehru said he did not quite know how things would shape themselves and what the Defence Consultative Committee would do. But Pandit Nehru emphasised, this question, like any other question, could not be just isolated from both the larger question of the army and its grievances, and the still larger question of the political future of India.

"Most of our difficulties," said Pandit Nehru, "arise from the fact that we are in a period of intense transition. It is absurd for high army authorities to continue to think in terms of some years back—pre-war terms when the army was isolated from the people and was a relatively small force, a small professional force. They will have to revise their outlook completely, and realise that the present army, navy and air force are of a different calibre, and further that Indian public is greatly interested in them.

UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT

Replying to the question, whether he approved of the underground movements, Pandit Nehru said :

" Generally speaking, I do not approve of underground movements at all, except when underground movements are the only way of action. Underground movements strike at the root of mass action."

Asked whether he approved of Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali's actions during the past two or three years, Pandit Nehru said: " I do not approve of all she did."

BOYCOTT OF BRITISH GOODS

Dealing, with Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali's appeal to the country to boycott British goods, Pandit Nehru said : " For the moment I cannot give you a straight answer, as to how far it is a feasible proposition in the present context. At present there is a vacuum of goods in India. A vacuum tends to be filled. The vacuum of scarcity of goods in India will be filled, either by goods manufactured

in India, or foreign ones. But foreign goods can come in limited quantities, and probably more British goods than others. One has to see how things develop in future. Generally Congressmen do not buy foreign goods."

VIOLENCE AND NON-VIOLENCE

Discussing violence and non-violence, Pandit Nehru said since there was considerable confusion in the country about violence and non-violence, he would like to say a few words.

" I can only express my opinion for the moment but it may represent many other people's opinion also," added Pandit Nehru " I think in our fight for freedom to-day, as yesterday, non-violence, the general non-violence technique, is the only desirable technique both in regard to internal conditions in India and in regard to world conditions. It seems to me obvious that if one thinks in terms of violence, one must think in terms of superior violence. It is folly to put up inferior violence to oppose superior voilence. No general of an armed forces does that. Of course, in moments of crisis people act as they might feel at the moment. When you are considering these problems, you think, not in terms of the particular crisis but in terms of a general policy. I have not a shadow of doubt that the right policy is the non-violent policy for us in India to-day."

Asked why he praised the I. N. A. if he felt non-violent action was best suited to India at present, Pt. Nehru said : " one of the potent reasons why I say non-violence is the best suited to India is because of the I.N.A. It is one thing to praise those who have fought gallantly, violently or non-violently, for the freedom of India and it is a totally different thing to consider the problem of India in its present context. The I. N. A. used violence and it failed. But if it had succeeded, the questioner might have advanced the argument that violence had paid. The I. N. A. failed, not because of their violence or non-violence but because of external forces. The I. N. A. was arrayed against greater forces in the world situation."

" You cannot compare the I. N. A. to the situation in India because the I. N. A. was an external situation and the question of non-violent action in that particular context hardly arose outside India. It seems to me—friends will forgive me in saying so—this question of violence and non-violence is often thought and considered in some infantile context, in some eighteenth century context. People forget we are in the middle of twentieth century. When you think in terms of internal revolutionary violence to free a country then you must remember always the violence at the disposal of the state to crush that internal violence. During the last 150 years military violence has completely changed. It is so immensely superior to any public violence that there is no comparison between them. When people talk of barricades, people think in terms of the French Revolution. Roughly speaking 157 or 155 years ago there was

not too much, I emphasise the words too much, difference between armed or semi-armed groups and military forces of the state.

The only people who can offer effective violence to-day are the armed forces, with the supply of weapons. Even the armed forces cannot effectively make use of violence, unless supplies to them are fairly continuous. Even armed forces are pretty helpless before new inventions of war such as planes tanks, bombs, etc."

VIOLENCE RULED OUT

"I suggest to you that sporadic insurrectionary type of action is ruled out to-day from the point of view of pure expediency. To think of insurrectionary methods, small insurrectionary methods of the early nineteenth century type in the twentieth century is, I think, entirely to misunderstand the present situation in India and the world. Also the insurrectionary type of action is always action of a small minority and weak minority, which tries to capture power by some sudden action. We in India are neither weak nor a small minority. We are a powerful movement and a powerfully organised movement and to indulge in small-scale sporadic violent action is just to ignore and not to utilise that powerful movement of the great majority in India and to hinder its functioning. You have mighty weapons in your hands and, instead of using them to best advantage, you go about with a small pair of nail scissors and think you can do a great deal as opposed to a big gun. It is absurd. What I see happening in many places in India to-day is vague thought that by rushing into some kind of sporadic action people are speeding the revolution in India. They are doing nothing of the kind. They are just hindering it. If there is going to be violence, it should be on the big scale possibly at the right time, with the right preparation. Small-scale violence comes in the way, not only of non-violence, but of big-scale violence. It is not a preparation for a violent struggle. It is a hindrance to it and it is only a notice to the opposite party to prevent the revolutionary movement developing.

Pandit Nehru was asked : "Should not the city of Bombay observe a hartal in response to R. I. N. ratings' appeal?"

Pandit Nehru suddenly flew into a temper and said : "The R. I. N. Central Strike Committee has no business to issue such an appeal over the heads of every one in Bombay and all recognised political parties. The obvious course open to the Strike Committee was to meet the recognised leaders and put before them their case."

IX

The Blazing Torch

(At Bombay)

"With Quit India as our slogan we go to elections and after elections are over we will march forward with the same 'Quit India' until we achieve our goal. We must prepare ourselves for everything that may come on us," observed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

addressing a mammoth meeting. The meeting began with a marching song 'On to Delhi' sung by Congress volunteers at Bombay on November 11, 1945.

Pandit Nehru added : " It is true that elections would divert our attention from the real path for two to three months. But whatever may be, we must participate in them with all our vigour. In most of the provinces Congress will sweep the polls. In eight or nine provinces, there can be every possibility of Congress governments and a Congress majority. But after the elections should we have the same type of Government as we had in 1937 ? I do not mean that we should not run our Government but we must change the policy. We must have Delhi's Central Government in our possession. We must have a free India. Let us then think of our own charts and maps of complete independence instead of looking at the maps and charts of the British Government. I wish that the country should keep this mental picture in mind. We know to achieve the country's freedom is our greatest problem and it is the duty of every individual to help this organisation to win freedom."—

(*At Lahore*)

Pandit Jawaharlal addressing the people said that those who tried to go against the great gushing torrent of Indian nationalism would be swept ashore, lifeless as a log of wood.

He said that to vote against the Congress in the coming central and provincial elections would be to raise the hopes of British Government whose end in India was near and inevitable. I was day by day becoming plainer that their hopes could not thus be raised sufficiently to perpetuate their stranglehold on this country. On the canvas of world convulsions and revolutions and upheavals their trace was being obliterated.

Pandit Jawaharlal said that the British Government fully knew that it was the Congress that they had to take into account as the most powerful force arrayed throughout the land against them. They simply did not mind the communal organisations which were only an obstacle in the path of freedom.

He said that the British Government wanted any non-Congress candidate, be he a Muslim Leaguer, an Akali Dal nominee, a Hindu Sabhaie, or any other, to succeed against the Congress candidate. They wanted that only the Congress not to succeed in elections. They would be very happy over such a result.

The British Government, he said, were afraid only of the Congress. There were many civilians in the United Provinces and elsewhere who had booked their passage in advance to leave by the first boat if Congress ministries stepped in. (laughter and cheers).

Pandit Jawaharlal said that in the Punjab one saw more of the British Government than in the rest of India. Here even a Government peon put on a peculiar appearance, Deputy Commissioners

of this province were even more powerful, or thought themselves to be so, than Governors in the other provinces.

The Unionist Ministry, he said, merely mirrored the image of the British Government. All over India it was hard to find a parallel to this ministry.

Alone that would win the freedom of India. All other organisations were simply useless for attaining this great and noble objective.

MONSTER OF IMPERIALISM

Time and again, he said, it had been proved that it was the Congress that could accept the challenge of the might of British imperialism. For 25 years it had grappled with this monster. The Congress alone had heroically resisted British power that still retained its hold on India. That hold was bound to go. The Congress would see to it. There was no second body in the land to do this.

He said that the time for knocking at the doors of the British Government was long past.

He declared : " We have to settle the issue of freedom ourselves by one more mighty and final effort. We wish the British well in their own islands but they must clear out from India.

He asked his audience to keep in mind the big fundamental issues before the country and not be lost in the maze of trivial and unimportant things.

NO HINDU RAJ

Pandit Jawaharlal said that in the free India to come there would be no Hindu Raj as Hindu Mahasabha dreamed, nor a Muslim Raj, nor a Sikh Raj. It will be a people's raj—a raj of all, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and others—with power resting in the hands of the people as a whole. It would not be the raj of handful few for this would make no more difference than would the replacement of a few white officials by India. This raj would be a combined rule of all the elements that make India.

The " Quit India " resolution, said Pt. Nehru, stood as it was. And this in spite of the insistence upon the withdrawal of the August resolution by some of the British politicians and even Mr. Jinnah, who said that the question of the release of the Congress Working Committee could be considered only after the August resolution had been withdrawn.

Amidst loud applause, Pandit Nehru added : " But here I stand before you—out of prison—and the August resolution stands as before."

Pandit Jawaharlal said that this domination by British Government for 150 years had now become intolerable. Indians would

not wait for more declarations and more promises from New Delhi and London but would solve the issue of their freedom themselves.

He said that it was the religious duty of a slave to revolt against his subjugation. And it was but proper that the Indian people revolted spontaneously in 1942 as they did in 1857.

Pandit Jawaharlal said that indescribable tyranny and suppression by the British Government followed in the wake of that revolt. But the people were all the stronger for that brave and heroic resistance against this power. The Congress was never so strong before as to-day. It had endeared itself all the more to the people. It reigned in their hearts.

He said that in the August movement at several places in the United Provinces and Bihar people had finished the British Government. They had captured law courts, Government buildings and even the treasury. They had made several Deputy Commissioners don the Gandhi cap and salute the national flag to show that it was the Indian people that were ruling. But terrible repression followed. The bomb and the machine-gun and the aeroplane were used against them, hundreds of men killed and the villages burned. To-day the simple Ballia Kisan, he said, was proud of ruling even for ten days. He was full of more courage and enthusiasm. Repression had failed to crush his spirit of revolt.

Addressing the mammoth gathering Panditji declared that the future of India was in the hands of the Congress and if the Sikhs drifted from the Congress they would be losers in the long run. He continued : " The world was changing. In the changing conditions if the Congress was powerful, independence would come nearer." He added : " Those who attack the Congress and demand independence are not genuine in their demand. They are indirectly helping to prolong India's subjugation."

He continued : " India made a huge sacrifice in 1942. In the revolution the people played with their lives but the Muslim League and the communists opposed that revolutionary movement. While the Hindu Mahasabha sympathised with the first, later on it changed its front when it found the English winning."

He added : " The Sikhs should be ashamed of the roll played by the Akali Party and the Communist Sikhs during the 1942 movement. People sacrificed their lives and the Akali leaders were knocking at the doors of military officers and were flirting with the Unionists. The Akalis or the Communists have no principle or policy. They stabbed the Congress in the back.

" If the British Government failed to crush the Congress, the Akalis cannot succeed in continuing to stand against the Congress.

The Congress had always grown from strength to strength and is to-day stronger than before."

He warned the Punjabees that they should rise above petty party matters. The British Government would be glad over the success of every Leaguer, Mahasabhaite, Akali and Communist candidate because their success did not add to to the power of the people.

Warming up a little, Panditji said : " The coming two years—1945 and 1946—are very important not because the British Government is going to make any announcement but because the Congress is not going to wait for British declarations. We must march forward."

He said : " We will welcome any peaceful solution but we cannot wait."

" I am told the British officials are displeased with my speeches. I cannot help it. The fire is kindling in my heart which does not permit me to tolerate the present conditions. The struggle of the last three years has produced India which can neither be suppressed nor bended "

Panditji addressing the crowd said :

" The Sikh problem is an important matter connected with all-India question. The Punjab cannot be separated from India. What has happened in the past 25 years ? I have studied it thoroughly. India's temper is raising daily as it cannot sit idle, it cannot wait for the Government to fulfil its promise. I am afraid this might burst any time, overwhelming the Government its abyss."

The League says, he continued, Congress opposes Pakistan. While Akalis say it has sanctioned Pakistan. Nobody is saying what they will do for India's freedom though it is the only important problem. You have seen what these parties have done during the last five years. Akalis say we will defend Sikh rights and will not let Pakistan be granted. I am a staunch opponent of Pakistan. They oppose Pakistan but they have negotiated through the back-door with the League so many times. They were seeking the help of the British Government also. Mr. Jinnah told the English press in an interview about a year and a half ago that the British Government should give Pakistan. Whatever their strength may be they cannot make Pakistan here even with the help of the British Government. This problem can only be solved by a compromise.

What Mr. Jinnah says even a child knows is quite impossible. Every unit will enjoy full freedom but India will work unitedly. India will see so many changes in the coming years.

Panditji next referred to the official interference in the elections which he characterised as highly objectionable and unwarranted. He appealed to the voters not to vote for any candidate under official pressure which meant an insult to them. The country would not forgive those who wanted to influence free voting.

The Sikhs are a brave freedom-loving people, he said. They should strengthen the hands of all progressive forces in India and work for India's freedom with the Congress which is the only national body that can fight for it, and make all possible sacrifices for it. The doors of the Congress are open to all. Anybody can join the Congress and strengthen it.

(*At Bombay*)

" The hunger of freedom cannot be fed merely by contesting the elections. If I have to address you to-day it is not only for enlisting your support for the Congress candidate in the coming elections, but to call upon you to vote for a great cause, a cause greater than the elections, namely, our freedom," said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Pandit Nehru added : " It is the duty of every Indian who is a slave to revolt and carry on the revolt till he is a free man. Every country, which is dominated by another nation must revolt against that authority. I am using the word revolt after great consideration and thought. The question of when and how subject country should revolt should be carefully considered. A nation, which has not sufficient strength to rise against an alien authority, is a dead nation. It is our duty first and foremost, to rebel against that foreign authority which rules over us.

" We have been following the path of revolution during the last 25 years openly. Before that period, we had talks about revolt, but all the talks were conducted under cover. The first revolt against the British authority in India was in 1857 and thereafter there were small and sporadic fights.

" When we recall the incidents in the history of our national struggle for freedom, it becomes increasingly clear that India is not a dead nation. During the last 25 years we have seen various phases in the struggle for freedom. These included Satyagraha, civil disobedience and Khilafat movements. It does not, therefore, mean that we should bow our heads to our enemy even while we follow the lead given by our great leader Mahatma Gandhi. The issue of freedom assumes greater importance day after day. After all the strength of this great country of 400 millions is not negligible. It is not an easy task to lead the millions of our countrymen on the path of revolution. Even an elephant has to undergo the preliminaries before it can stand up and move. Equally so it is difficult to put this country on its legs and make her people move forward."

Pandit Nehru continuing said : " It is useless to say that we have not committed mistakes during the last 25 years since we raised the banner of revolt. But it is true that we have never allowed the flag to be dishonoured or lowered. It is, therefore, proper

that we are proud of it. To err is human and in every country there are weak-hearted people but the real issue is to judge how far we have contributed to the real strength of the nation.

" We have kept the flag of revolution in our hands firmly during the last 25 years and it will remain high till our country attains her independence.

" Revolution and elections do not go together. We have repeatedly said that it is not proper to contest the elections, because our real work is in the fields, villages, factories and in slum areas. Even then, we have accepted the challenge of the British Government to contest the elections. Judged by the ideal of national revolution, the elections by themselves are a misfit. But having decided to contest the elections, I am anxious to see that the Congress candidates, who have the flag of revolt in their hands, march forward towards the ideal. It pains me if our flag is insulted, and, therefore, it is my duty to help them who are advancing towards the goal. If I am entitled to vote, I must vote for a Congressman. I appeal to you to think over and over again why you should vote for the Congress. Weighed in the scales of revolution you will find that a vote against the Congress, which is pledged to the attainment of freedom for India, will be a vote to strengthen and prolong the British hold over India."

(*Calcutta, March 10, 1946*)

Pandit Nehru addressed half a dozen workers' rallies in the industrial area around Calcutta.

Speaking at the first of such rallies held at Titaghur, Pandit Nehru said that the British rule in India was a thing of the past. It was time for the British to quit India, whether they wanted to do so or not. But the vacuum that would be left by the British had to be filled up. Though old order was fast dying out in India, a new order was yet to be born in its stead. If all of them worked unitedly in the new order they would be able to write a glorious chapter in the history of India.

(*Benares, Feb. 15, 1946*)

" I have come to congratulate the students of the Benares Hindu University for the part they played in the freedom movement of 1942. This does not mean I approve all their deeds, but surely I appreciate the vigour and vitality which forced them to join the August movement, said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, while addresing students of the Benares Hindu University on Thursday morning at the annual function of the Science College.

Earlier advising the students to surpass ordinary standards in all faculties and to specialise in some subject, Pandit Jawaharlal said : "The present world is of science, technology and engineering. If our country lags behind in these faculties, we would not be able to carry on."

Pandit Nehru said it was his keen desire to see that India becomes a first-rate nation.

Referring to the peasant problem, Pandit Nehru said that by abolishing Zamindaries and Taluqdaries the problem would not be solved. To improve the conditions of our peasants, the country should be well industrialised. Our problems are inter-linked with each other and therefore, those who have plans and schemes for the improvement of the country should see that their plans are not isolated, their plans should be colossal and well collaborated in every aspect.

Regarding the condition of Indians in South Africa, Pandit Nehru said : "I lose my patience at our helplessness towards our countrymen in South Africa. We should strengthen ourselves so that we can help them to-morrow, if not to-day."

Concluding Pandit Nehru said : "In free India all the forty crores of inhabitants should be well clothed."

(*Allahabad, Feb. 15, 1946*)

Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru addressing a mass meeting said British knew only two things in India (1) how to collect taxes, and (2) how to deal in lathi charges and firings. British lacked both brain and power to deal with the food situation, but even if they had these things, they could not succeed without the co-operation of the people. Only a popular Government might hlep to tide over the crisis. "I do not know the real situation but from newspaper reports it appears pretty grave. It must be tackled at once otherwise it might get out of hand. I am greatly agitated as I ponder over the destruction wrought by British rule in India in last 100 years."

Pt. Nehru pleaded for discarding all hatred among various communities in India. This hatred might stand like stone in free India against all progress. In the last few years India's worst preiod was British rule.

Pt. Nehru referred to Mr. Jinnah's reply given to a query showing that Mr. Jinnah wanted the presence of British troops in India even after Pakistan. That would only prolong the British rule, Pt. Nehru added.

Pt. Nehru disapproved of the slogans like "Down with British" and "Down with Americans".

Pt. Nehru was garlanded with silver coins and one rupee currency notes.

Jawaharlal said :

"There was no intermediary way between Swaraj and foreign domination : either this alien Government should quit India or we would perish."

He said that there was no other organisation, party or body than the Congress itself which could solve the existing acute problems

of the country, and it was this national institution alone which could eradicate, when it came to power, all evils and corruption rampant in the present administration.

"India is on the threshold of tremendous changes. She is restless and fully prepared to wrest power from unwilling hands," said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, while addressing a huge gathering at Gorakhpur.

Pandit Nehru declared: "On the one hand India is gaining in strength and on the other, Britain is growing weaker. When Britain is confronted with her own difficult problems how can she be expected to solve the mighty problems facing the people of our country--the problem of hunger and unemployment.

The British administration to-day, said Pt. Nehru, is unfit, even to maintain its police raj and knows one duty, that is, of firing on people in India. The tehsildars, the deputy collectors, patwaris and all the relics of the vanishing order cannot be expected to solve problems of poverty and unemployment and the dozens of other problems, without the active co-operation of the teeming millions of our country.

The truth of the matter is that the British Government, as it is to-day, is utterly unfit to rule India and there can be no peace in our country unless we achieve freedom.

" In the context of problems of hunger, want, and sickness does the communal problem fit in ?" asked Pandit Nehru. " When we are up with the work of rebuilding our devastated country, shall we sit down to consider what would be the proportion of Hindu and Muslim engineers or should we entrust the work to those who will work with efficiency, be they Muslims, Hindus or Christians or any other community of India. We have to look at the Indian problems from this angle.

To-day the question is of achieving independence and of building the country anew. Can the Muslim League or the Mahasabha tackle these problems ? I stagger to think that these problems do not even figure in their programme : They have not given any serious consideration to them. I shall ask what they have done during the last thirty years towards solving these problems, except raising a hue and cry.

TO WHAT DEPTHS OF DEGRADATION !

" It is easy for the Muslim League and the Mahasabha to sow seeds of discord but I warn them that the results would be disastrous for the whole of India. Can Hindus or Muslims rule the country on communal lines ?"

The problem, Pandit Nehru went on, was not Hindu or Muslim problem, as the Leaguers and the Sabhaites proclaimed. For them the problem was of protecting Zamindari and Taaluqdari.

He said : "In Oudh I found a Hindu Taaluqdar helping a Muslim Taaluqdar. These Taaluqdars and Zamindars—creations of the British Government—are afraid of a people's Government. To-day I was shown a handbill, which is being circulated by Muslim Leaguers and in which some sentences said to have been uttered or written by me have been quoted. I am pained to think of the degradation of politics to such standards that sentences torn out of context are used to exploit the sentiments of the masses.

"What will it matter if a seat or two are captured by these means? How will it help in solving the gigantic problems that stare us in the face? Either we solve them or we perish."

Surveying the political situation once again with the background of the international developments, Pandit Nehru observed : " We find no important change in the constitutional frame of the country, yet there is a heaven of difference between what India was three to four years ago and what it is to-day. We have imbibed the inner strength of the heart and the head and that strength cannot be suppressed by repression.

"The problems that demand not only immediate but speedy solution are of poverty and unemployment. Either we solve them or we perish. The country can no longer tolerate the present state of affairs. We are fed up. The cry of Pakistan at such a juncture is a vain cry. If Iran cannot guard its freedom, how can we expect Pakistan or Hindustan to stand alone. I am told some people of the Frontier may ask for secession. I do not believe it, but if they are at all keen to do so, they may part with pleasure ; but I tell them they will have soon to come back to a united India."

THEY MUST QUIT

Concluding Pandit Nehru made a reference to the conditions in Gorakhpur. He said : " All those who indulged in atrocities against the masses will have to leave this country ; there is no place for them in India."

THIRTEENTH SECTION

New World Order

New phoenix is coming out of the ashes of the Second World War. What type of this new globe is going to be? will Atomic Age be the Age of Complete Annihiliation? Or will somehow the spiritual dawn break upon the sleep-walking politicians? These are the questions that are agitating every humane breast. Jawaharlal has tried to answer these questions with particular reference to India in the speeches presented in this section.

I

Foundations of Freedom

[*The Indian National Congress, under Jawaharlal, passed the Resolution of Complete Independence at the historic session of the Congress at Lahore in 1930. The fight for freedom is in operation for the last fifteen years. Consequently the foundations of freedom and the programme for independence, which Pandit N hru laid down in his presidential address, are as true to-day as they were at that time. There is a prophetic glory about the utterances of Jawaharlal, and the weapons of freedom which he forged in 1930 are more essential, more handy and sharper than ever. All those who are anxious to serve their motherland, we draw their attention to the hints for freedom formulated by Jawaharlal in the following speech*] :—

For four-and-forty years this National Congress has laboured for the freedom of India. During this period it has somewhat slowly but surely awakened national consciousness from its long stupor and built up the national movement. If to-day we are gathered here at a crisis of our destiny, conscious of our strength as well as of our weakness, and looking with hope and apprehension to the future, it is well that we give first thought to those who spent their lives with little hope of reward so that those that follow them may have the joy of achievement. **Many of the giants of old are not with us and we of a later day, standing on an eminence of their creation, may often decry their efforts. That is the way of the world. But none of you can forget them or the great work they**

did in laying the foundations of a free India. And none of us can ever forget that glorious band of men and women who, without reckoning the consequences, have laid down their young lives or spent their bright youth in suffering and torment in utter protest against a foreign domination. Many of their names even are not known to us. They laboured and suffered in silence without any expectation of public applause, and by their heart's blood they nursed the tender plant of India's freedom. While many of us temporized and compromised, they stood up and proclaimed a people's right to freedom and declared to the world that India, even in her degradation, had the spark of life in her, because she refused to submit to tyranny and serfdom. Brick by brick has our national movement been built up, and often on the prostrate bodies of her martyred sons has India advanced. The giants of old may not be with us, but the courage of old is with us still, and India can yet produce martyrs like Jatindas and Wizaya.

This is the glorious legacy that we have inherited, and you wish to put me in charge of it. I know well that I occupy this honoured place by chance more than by your deliberate design. Your desire was to choose another—one who towers above all others in this present-day world of ours—and there could have been no wiser choice. But fate and he conspired together and thrust me against your will and mine into this terrible seat of responsibility. Should I express my gratitude to you for having placed me in this dilemma? But I am grateful indeed for your confidence in one who strangely lacks it himself.

You will discuss many vital national problems that face us to-day, and your decisions may change the course of Indian history. But you are not the only people that are faced with problems. **The whole world to-day is one vast question mark, and every country and every people is in the melting-pot.** The age of faith, with the comfort and stability it brings, is past, and there is questioning about everything, however permanent or sacred it might have appeared to our forefathers. Everywhere there is doubt and restlessness, and the foundations of the State and society are in process of transformation. Old-established ideas of liberty, justice, property and even the family are being attacked, and the outcome hangs in the balance. We appear to be in a dissolving period of history, when the world is in labour and, out of her travail, will give birth to a new order.

No one can say what the future will bring, but we may assert with some confidence that Asia, and even India, will play a determining part in future world policy. The brief day of European domination is already approaching its end. Europe has ceased to be the centre of activity and interest. The future lies with America and Asia. Owing to false and incomplete history many of us have been led to think that Europe has always dominated over the rest of the world, and Asia has always let the legions of the West thunder past and has plunged in thought again. We have

forgotten that it was India that finally broke the military power of Alexander. Thought has undoubtedly been the glory of Asia and specially of India, but in the field of action the record of Asia has been equally great. But none of us desires that the legions of Asia or Europe should overrun the continents again. We have all had enough of them.

India to-day is a part of a world movement. Not only China, Turkey, Persia and Egypt, but also Russia and the countries of the West are taking part in this movement, and India cannot isolate herself from it. We have our own problems, difficult and intricate, and we cannot run away from them and take shelter in the wider problems that affect the world. But if we ignore the world, we do so at our peril. Civilization to-day, such as it is, is not the creation or the monopoly of one people or nation. It is a composite fabric to which all countries have contributed and then have adopted to suit their particular needs. And if India has a message to give to the world, as I hope she has, she has also to receive and learn much from the message of other peoples.

When everything is changing it is well to remember the long course of Indian history. Few things in history are more amazing than the wonderful stability of the social structure in India which withstood the impact of numerous alien influences and thousands of years of change and conflict. It withstood them because it always sought to absorb them and tolerate them. Its aim was not to exterminate but to establish an equilibrium between different cultures. Aryans and non-Aryans settled down together recognising each other's right to their culture, and outsiders who came, like the Parsis, found a welcome and a place in the social order. With the coming of the Muslims the equilibrium was disturbed, but India sought to restore it, and largely succeeded. Unhappily for us before we could adjust our differences, the political structure broke down, the British came and we fell.

Great as was the success of India in evolving a stable society she failed in a vital particular, and because she failed in this, she fell and remains fallen. No solution was found for the problem of equality. India deliberately ignored this and built up her social structure on inequality, and we have the tragic consequences of this policy in the millions of our people who till yesterday were suppressed and had little opportunity for growth.

When Europe fought her wars of religion and Christians massacred each other in the name of their Saviour, India was tolerant, although, alas, there is little of this toleration to-day. Having attained some measure of religious liberty, Europe sought after political liberty and political, and legal equality. Having attained these

also, she finds that they mean very little without economic liberty and equality. And so to-day politics have ceased to have much meaning, and the most vital question is that of social and economic equality.

India also will have to find a solution to this problem, and until she does so, her political and social structure cannot have stability. That solution need not necessarily follow the example of any other country. It must, if it has to endure, be based on the genius of her people and be an outcome of her thought and culture. And when it is found, the unhappy differences between various communities, which trouble us to-day and keep back our freedom, will automatically disappear.

Indeed the real differences have already largely gone, but fear of each other and distrust and suspicion remain and sow seeds of discord. The problem before us is not one of removing differences. They can well remain side by side and enrich our many-sided culture. The problem is how to remove fear and suspicion, and, being intangible, they are hard to get at. An earnest attempt was made to do so last year by the All-Parties Committee, and much progress was made towards the goal. But we must admit with sorrow that success has not wholly crowned its efforts. Many of our Muslim and Sikh friends have strenuously opposed the solutions suggested, and passions have been roused over mathematical figures and percentages. Logic and cold reason are poor weapons to fight fear and distrust. Only faith and generosity can overcome them. I can only hope that the leaders of the various communities will have this faith and generosity in ample measure. What shall we gain for ourselves or for our community if all of us are slaves in a slave country? And what can we lose if once we remove the shackles from India and can breathe the air of freedom again? Do we want outsiders, who are not of us and who have kept us in bondage, to be the protectors of our little rights and privileges, when they deny us the very right to freedom? No majority can crush a determined minority, and no minority can be sufficiently protected by a little addition to its seats in Legislature. Let us remember that in a world to-day almost everywhere, a very small minority holds wealth and power and dominates over the great majority.

I have no love for bigotry and dogmatism in religion, and I am glad that they are weakening. Nor do I love communalism in any shape or form. I find it difficult to appreciate why political or economic rights should depend on the membership of a religious group or community. I can fully understand the right to freedom in religion and the right to one's culture, and in India specially, which has always acknowledged and granted these rights, it should be no difficult matter to ensure their continuance. We have only to find out some way whereby we may root out the fear and distrust that darken our horizon to-day. The politics of a subject race are largely based on fear and hatred; we have been too long under subjection to get rid of them easily.

I was born a Hindu, but I do not know how far I am justified in calling myself one or in speaking on behalf of Hindus. But birth still counts in this country, and by right of birth I shall venture to submit to the leaders of the Hindus that it should be their privilege to take the lead in generosity. Generosity is not only good morals, but is often good politics and sound expediency. And it is inconceivable to me that in free India the Hindus can ever be powerless. So far as I am concerned I would gladly ask our Muslim and Sikh friends to take what they will without protest or argument from me. I know that the time is coming soon when these labels and appellations will have little meaning and when our struggles will be on an economic basis. Meanwhile it matters little what our mutual arrangements are, provided only that we do not build up barriers which will come in the way of future progress.

The time has indeed already come when the All-Parties Report has to be put aside and we march forward unfettered to our goal. You will remember the resolution of the last Congress which fixed a year of grace for the adoption of the All-Parties Scheme. That year is nearly over, and the natural issue of that decision for this Congress is to declare in favour of independence and devise sanctions to achieve it.

That year has not brought Dominion Status or the All-Parties Constitution. It has brought instead suffering and greater repression of our national and labour movements, and many of our comrades are to-day forcibly kept away from us by the alien power. Many of them suffer exile in foreign countries and are refused facilities to return to their motherland. The army of occupation holds country in its iron grip, and the whip of the master is ever ready to come down on the best of us who dare raise their heads. The answer to the Calcutta Resolution has been clear and definite.

Recently there has been a seeming offer of peace. The Viceroy has stated on behalf of the British Government that the leaders of Indian opinion will be invited to confer with the Government on the subject of India's future constitution. The Viceroy meant well and his language was the language of peace. But even a Viceroy's goodwill and courteous phrases are poor substitutes for the hard facts that confront us. We have sufficient experience of the devious ways of British diplomacy to beware of it. The offer that the British Government made was vague, and there was no commitment or promise of performance. Only by the greatest stretch of imagination could it be interpreted as a possible response to the Calcutta Resolution. Many leaders of various political parties met together soon after and considered it. They gave it the most favourable interpretation, for they desired peace and were willing to go half-way to meet it. But in courteous language they made it clear what the vital conditions for its acceptance were. Many of us who believed in independence and were convinced that the offer was only a device to lead us astray and create division in our ranks, suffer bitter anguish and

were torn with doubt. Were we justified in precipitating a terrible national struggle with all its inevitable consequences of suffering for many when there was even an outside chance of honourable peace ? With much searching of heart we signed that manifesto, and I know not to-day if we did right or wrong. Later came the explanations and amplifications in the British Parliament and elsewhere, and all doubt, if doubt there were, was removed as to the true significance of the offer. Even so your Working Committee chose to keep open the door of negotiation and left it to this Congress to take the final decision.

During the last few days there has been another discussion of this subject in the British House of Commons, and the Secretary of State for India has endeavoured to point out that successive Governments have tried to prove, not only by words, but by deeds also, the sincerity of their faith in regard to India. We must recognize Mr. Wedgwood Benn's desire to do something for India and his anxiety to secure the goodwill of the Indian people. But his speech and the other speeches made in Parliament carry us no further. "Dominion Status in action," to which he has drawn attention, has been a snare for us, and has certainly not reduced the exploitation of India. The burdens on the Indian masses are even greater to-day because of this "Dominion Status in action" and the so-called constitutional reforms of ten years ago. High Commissioners in London, and representative on the League of Nations, and the purchase of stores, and Indian Governors and high officials are no parts of our demand. We want to put an end to the exploitation of India's poor and to get the reality of power and not merely the livery of office.

Mr. Wedgwood Benn has given us a record of the achievements of the past decade. He could have added to it by referring to Martial Law in the Punjab and the Jallianwala Bagh shooting and the repression and exploitation that have gone on continually during this period of "Dominion Status in action." He has given us some insight into what more of Dominion Status may mean for us. It will mean the shadow of authority to a handful Indians, and more repression and exploitation of the masses.

What will this Congress do ? The condition for co-operation remain unfulfilled. Can we co-operate so long as there is no guarantee that real freedom will come to us ? Can we co-operate when our comrades lie in prison and repression continues ? Can we co-operate until we are assured that real peace is sought after and not merely a tactical advantage over us ? Peace cannot come at the point of the bayonet, and if we are to continue to be dominated over by an alien people, let us at least be no consenting parties to it.

If the Calcutta Resolution holds, we have but one goal to-day, that of independence. Independence is not a happy word in the

world to-day, for it means exclusiveness and isolation. Civilization has had enough of narrow nationalism and gropes towards a wider co-operation and interdependence. And if we use the word independence we do so in no sense hostile to the larger ideal. Independence for us means complete freedom from British domination and British imperialism. Having attained our freedom I have no doubt that India will welcome all attempts at world co-operation and federation, and will even agree to give up part of her own independence to a larger group of which she is an equal member.

The British Empire to-day is not such a group, and cannot be so long as it dominates over millions of peoples and holds large areas of the world's surface despite the will of their inhabitants. It cannot be a true commonwealth so long as imperialism is its basis and the exploitation of other races its chief means of sustenance. The British Empire to-day is indeed gradually undergoing a process of political dissolution. It is in a state of unstable equilibrium. The Union of South Africa is not a very happy member of the family, nor is the Irish Free State a willing one. Egypt drifts away. India could never be an equal member of the Commonwealth unless imperialism and all it implies is discarded. So long as this is not done, India's position in the Empire must be one of subservience, and her exploitation will continue. The embrace of the British Empire is a dangerous thing. It cannot be the life-giving embrace of affection freely given and returned. And if it is not that, it will be, what it has been in the past, the embrace of death.

There is talk of world peace and pacts have been signed by the nations of the world. But despite pacts armaments grow and beautiful language is the only homage that is paid to the goddess of peace. Peace can only come when the causes of war are removed. So long as there is the domination of one country over another, or the exploitation of one class by another, there will always be attempts to subvert the existing order, and no stable equilibrium can endure. Out of imperialism and capitalism peace can never come. And it is because the British Empire stands for these, and bases itself on the exploitation of the masses, that we can find no willing place in it. No gain that may come to us is worth anything unless it helps in removing the grievous burdens on our masses. The weight of a great empire is heavy to carry, and long our people have endured it. Their backs are bent and down and their spirit has almost broken. How will they share in the commonwealth partnership if the burden of exploitation continues? Many of the problems we have to face are the problems of vested interests, mostly created or encouraged by the British Government. The interests of rulers of Indian States, of British officials, and British capital and Indian capital, and of the owners of big zamindaris are ever thrust before us, and they clamour for protection. The unhappy

millions who really need protection are almost voiceless, and have few advocates. So long as the British Empire continues in India, in whatever shape it may do so, it will strengthen these vested interests and create more. And each one of them will be a fresh obstacle in our way. Of necessity the Government has to rely on oppression, and the symbol of its rule is the secret service with its despicable and contemptible train of agents, provocateurs, informers and approvers.

We have had much controversy about independence and Dominion Status, and we have quarrelled about words. But the real thing is the conquest of power by whatever name it may be called. I do not think that any form of Dominion Status applicable to India will give us real power. A test of this power would be the entire withdrawal of the alien army of occupation and economic control. Let us, therefore, concentrate on these and the rest will follow easily.

We stand, therefore, to-day for the fullest freedom of India. This Congress did not acknowledge and will not acknowledge the right of the British Parliament to dictate to us in any way. To it we make no appeal. But we do appeal to the Parliament and conscience of the world, and to them we shall declare, I hope, that India submits no longer to any foreign domination. To-day or to-morrow we may not be strong enough to assert our will. We are very conscious of our weakness, and there is no boasting in us or pride of strength. But let no one, least of all England, mistake or underrate the meaning or strength of our resolve. Solemnly, with full knowledge of consequences, I hope, we shall take it and there will be no turning back. A great nation cannot be thwarted for long when once its mind is clear and resolved. If to-day we fail and to-morrow brings no success, the day after will follow and bring achievement.

We are weary of strife and hunger for peace and opportunity to work constructively for our country. Do we enjoy the breaking up of our homes and the sight of our brave young men going to prison or facing the halter? Does the worker like going on strike and losing even his miserable pittance and starving? He does so by sheer compulsion when there is no other way for him. And we who take this perilous path of national strife do so because there is no other way to an honourable peace. But we long for peace, and the hand of fellowship will always be stretched out to all who may care to grasp it. But behind the hand will be a body which will not bend to injustice and a mind that will not surrender on any vital point.

With the struggle before us the time for determining our future constitution is not yet. For two years or more we have drawn up constitutions, and finally the All-Parties Committee put a crown to these efforts by drawing up a scheme of its own which the Congress adopted for a year. The labour that went to the making of this scheme was not wasted, and India has profited by it. But the

year is past and we have to face new circumstances which require action rather than constitution-making. Yet we cannot ignore the problems that beset us and that will make or mar our struggle and our future constitution. We have to aim at social adjustment and equilibrium, and to overcome the forces of disruption that have been the bane of India.

I must frankly confess that I am a socialist and a republican, and am no believer in kings and princes, or in the order which produces the modern kings of industry, who have greater power over the lives and fortunes of men than even the kings of old, and whose methods are as predatory as those of the old feudal aristocracy. I recognize, however, that it may not be possible for a body constituted as is this National Congress, and in the present circumstances of the country, to adopt a full Socialistic programme. But we must realize that the philosophy of Socialism has gradually permeated the entire structure of society the world over, and almost the only points in dispute are the pace and the methods of advance to its full realization. India will have to go that way, too, if she seeks to end her poverty and inequality, though she may evolve her own methods and may adapt the ideal to the genius of her race.

We have three major problems—the minorities, the Indian States, and labour and peasantry. I have dealt already with the question of minorities. I shall only repeat that we must give the fullest assurance by our words and deeds that their culture and traditions will be safe.

The Indian States, even for India, are the most curious relics of a bygone age. Many of their rulers apparently still believe in the divine right of kings—puppet kings though they be—and consider the State and all it contains to be their personal property, which they can squander at will. A few of them have a sense of responsibility and have endeavoured to serve their people, but many of them have hardly any redeeming feature. It is perhaps unjust to blame them, for they are but the products of a vicious system, and it is the system that will ultimately have to go. One of the rulers has told us frankly that even in case of war between India and England he will stand for England and fight against his mother country. That is the measure of his patriotism. It is not surprising, then, that they claim, and their claim finds acceptance wirh the British Government, that they alone can represent their subjects at any conference, and no one even of their subjects may have any say. The Indian States cannot live apart from the rest of India, and their rulers must, unless they accept their inevitable limitations, go the way of others who thought like them. And the only people who have a right to determine the future of the States must be the people of those States, including the rulers. This Congress which claims self-determination cannot deny it to the people of the States. Meanwhile, the Congress is perfectly willing to confer with such rulers as are prepared to do so, and to devise means whereby the

transition may not be too sudden. But in no event can the people of the States be ignored.

Our third major problem is the biggest of all. For India means the peasantry and labour, and to the extent that we raise them and satisfy their wants, will we succeed in our task. And the measure of the strength of our national movement will be the measure of their adherence to it. We can only gain them to our side by our espousing their cause, which is really the country's cause. The Congress, it is said, must hold the balance fairly between capital and labour and zamindar and tenant. But the balance has been and is terribly weighted on one side, and to maintain the *status quo* is to maintain injustice and exploitation. The only way to right it is to do away with the domination of any one class over another. The All-India Congress Committee accepted this ideal of social and economic change in a resolution it passed some months ago in Bombay. I hope the Congress will also set its seal on it, and will further draw up a programme of such changes as can be immediately put in operation.

In this programme perhaps the Congress as a whole cannot go very far to-day. But it must keep the ultimate ideal in view and work for it. The question is not one merely of wages and charity doled out by an employer or landlord. Paternalism in industry or in the land is but a form of charity with all its sting and its utter incapacity to root out the evil. The new theory of trusteeship, which some advocate, is equally barren. For trusteeship means that the power for good or evil remains with the self-appointed trustee, and he may exercise it as he will. The sole trusteeship that can be fair is the trusteeship of the nation and not of one individual or a group. Many Englishmen honestly consider themselves the trustees for India, and yet to what a condition have they reduced our country!

We have to decide for whose benefit industry must be run and the land produce food. To-day the abundance that the land produces is not for the peasant or the labourer who work on it; and industry's chief function is supposed to be to produce millionaires. However golden the harvest and heavy the dividends, the mud huts and hovels and nakedness of our people testify to the glory of the British Empire and of our present social system.

Our economic programme must, therefore, be based on a human outlook and must not sacrifice man to money. If an industry cannot be run without starving its workers, then the industry must close down. If the worker on the land have not enough to eat, then the intermediaries who deprive them of their full share must go. The least that every worker in field or factory is entitled to is a minimum wage which will enable him to live in moderate comfort and humane hours of labour which do not break his strength and spirit. The All-Parties Committee accepted the principle and included

it in their recommendation. I hope the Congress will also do so, and will in addition be prepared to accept its natural consequences. Further, that it will adopt the well-known demands of labour for a better life, and will give every assistance to it to organize itself and prepare itself for the day when it can control industry on a co-operative basis.

But industrial labour is only a small part of India, although it is rapidly becoming a force that cannot be ignored. It is the peasantry that cry loudly and piteously for relief, and our programme must deal with their present condition. Real relief can only come by a great change in the land laws and the basis of the present system of land tenure. We have among us many big landowners, and we welcome them. But they must realise that the ownership of large estates by individuals, which is the outcome of a state resembling the old feudalism of Europe, is a rapidly disappearing phenomenon all over the world. Even in countries which are the strong-holds of capitalism the large estates are being split up and given to the peasantry who work on them. In India also we have large areas where the system of peasant proprietorship prevails, and we shall have to extend this all over the country. I hope that in doing so we may have the co-operation of some at least of the big landowners.

It is not possible for this Congress at its annual session to draw up any detailed economic programme. It can only lay down some general principles and call upon the All-India Congress Committee to fill in the details in co-operation with the representatives of the Trades Union Congress and other organisations which are vitally interested in this matter. Indeed I hope that the co-operation between this Congress and the Trades Union Congress will grow, and the two organisations will fight side by side in future struggles.

All these are pious hopes till we gain power, and the real problem, therefore, before us is the conquest of power. We shall not do so by subtle reasoning or argument or lawyers' quibbles, but by the forging of sanctions to enforce the nation's will. To that end this Congress must address itself.

The past year has been one of preparation for us, and we have made every effort to reorganize and strengthen the Congress organization. The results have been considerable, and our organization is in a better state to-day than at any time since the reaction which followed the Non-co-operation Movement. But our weaknesses are many and are apparent enough. Mutual strife, even within Congress Committee, is unhappily too common and election squabbles drain all our strength and energy. How can we fight a great fight if we cannot get over this ancient weaknesss of ours and rise above our petty selves? I earnestly hope that with a strong programme of action before the country our perspective will improve and we will not tolerate this barren and demoralizing strife.

What can this programme be ? Our choice is limited, not by our own constitution, which we can change at our will, but by facts and circumstances. Article 1 of our Constitution lays down that our methods must be legitimate and peaceful. Legitimate I hope they will always be, for we must not sully the great cause for which we stand by any deed that will bring dishonour to it and that we may ourselves regret later. Peaceful I should like them to be, for the methods of peace are more desirable and more enduring than those of violence. Violence too often brings reaction and demoralization in its train, and in our country specially it may lead to disruption. It is perfectly true that organized violence rules the world to-day, and it may be that we could profit by its use. But we have not the material or the training, for organized violence, and individual or sporadic violence is a confession of despair. The great majority of us, I take it, judge the issue not on moral but on practical grounds, and if we reject the way of violence, it is because it promises no substantial results. But if this Congress or the nation at any future time comes to the conclusion that methods of violence will rid us of slavery, then I have no doubt that it will adopt them. Violence is bad, but slavery, is far worse. Let us also remember that the great apostle of non-violence has himself told us that it is better to fight than to refuse to fight out of cowardice.

Any great movement for liberation to-day must necessarily be a mass movement, and mass movements must essentially be peaceful, except in times of organised revolt. Whether we have the non-co-operation of a decade ago or the modern industrial weapon of the general strike, the basis is peaceful organization and peaceful action. And if the principal movement is a peaceful one, contemporaneous attempts at sporadic violence can only distract attention and weaken it. It is not possible to carry on at one and the same time the two movements side by side. We have to choose and strictly to abide by our choice. What the choice of this Congress is likely to be I have no doubt. It can only choose a peaceful mass movement.

Should we repeat the programme and tactics of the non-co-operation movement? Not necessarily, but the basic idea must remain. Programmes and tactics must be made to fit in with circumstances, and it is neither easy nor desirable for this Congress at this stage to determine them in detail. That should be the work of its executive, the All-India Congress Committee. But the principles have to be fixed.

The old programme was one of the three boycotts—councils, law courts and schools—leading up to refusal of service in the army and non-payment of taxes. When the national struggle is at its height, I fail to see how it will be possible for any person engaged in it to continue in the courts or the schools. But still I think that it will be unwise to declare a boycott of the courts and schools at this stage. The boycott of the legislative councils had led to much-

heated debate in the past, and this Congress itself has been rent in twain over it. We need not revive that controversy, for the circumstances to-day are entirely different. I feel that the step the Congress took some years ago to permit Congressmen to enter the councils was an inevitable step, and I am not prepared to say that some good has not resulted from it. But we have exhausted that good, and there is no middle course left to-day between boycott and full co-operation. All of us know the demoralization that these sham legislatures have brought in our ranks, and how many of our good men, their committees and commissions have been lured away. Our workers are limited in number, and we can have no mass movement unless they concentrate on it and turn their backs on the palatial council-chambers of our legislatures. And if we declare for independence, how can we enter the councils and carry on our humdrum and profitless activities there? No programme or policy can be laid down for ever, nor can this Congress bind the country or even itself to pursue one line of action indefinitely. But to-day I would respectfully urge the Congress that the only policy in regard to the councils is a complete boycott of them. The All-India Congress recommended this course in July last, and the time has come to give effect to it.

Our programme must, therefore, be one of political and economic boycott. It is not possible for us, so long as we are not actually independent, and not even then completely, to boycott another country wholly or to sever all connection with it. But our endeavour must be to reduce all points of contact with the British Government and to rely on ourselves. We must also make it clear that Indians will not accept responsibility for all the debts that England has piled on her. The Gaya Congress repudiated liability to pay these debts, and we must repeat this repudiation and stand by it. Such of India's public debt, as has been used for purposes beneficial to India, we are prepared to admit and pay back. But we wholly deny all liability to pay back the vast sums which have been raised so that India may be held in subjection and her burdens may be increased. In particular, the poverty-stricken people of India cannot agree to shoulder the burden of the wars fought by England to extend her domain or consolidate her position in India. Nor can they accept the many concessions lavishly bestowed, without even proper compensation, on foreign exploiters.

This boycott will only be a means to an end. It will release energy and divert attention to the real struggle, which must take the shape of non-payment of taxes and, where possible, with the co-operation of the labour movement, general strikes. But non-payment of taxes must be well organised in specific areas, and for this purpose the Congress should authorize the All-India Congress Committee to take the necessary action wherever and whenever it considers desirable.

I have not so far referred to the constructive programme of the Congress. This should certainly continue, but the experience of the last few years shows us that by itself it does not carry us swiftly

enough. It prepares the ground for future action, and ten years' silent work is bearing fruit to-day. In particular we shall, I hope—continue our boycott of foreign cloth and the boycott of British goods.

I have not referred so far to the Indians overseas and I do not propose to say much about them. This is not from any want of fellow-feelings with our brethren in East Africa or South Africa or Fiji or elsewhere, who are bravely struggling against great odds. But their fate will be decided in the plains of India, and the struggle we are launching into is as much for them as for ourselves.

For this struggle we want efficient machinery. Our Congress constitution and organization have become too archaic and slow-moving, and are ill-suited to times of crisis. The times of great demonstrations are past. We want quiet and irresistible action now, and this can only be brought about by the strictest discipline in our ranks. Our resolutions must be passed in order to be acted upon. The Congress will gain in strength, however small its actual membership may become, if it acts in a disciplined way. Small determined minorities have changed the fate of nations. Mobs and crowds can do little. Freedom itself involves restraint and discipline, and each one of us will have to subordinate himself to the larger good.

The Congress represents no small minority in the country, though many may be too weak to join it or to work for it, they look to it with hope and longing to bring them deliverance. Ever since the Calcutta resolution the country has waited with anxious expectation for this great day when this Congress meets. None of us can say what and when we can achieve. We cannot command success. But sucess often comes to those who dare and act ; it seldom goes to the timid who are ever afraid of the consequences. We play for high stakes ; and if we seek to achieve great things, it can only be through great dangers. Whether we succeed soon or late, none but ourselves can stop us from high endeavour and from writing a noble page in our country's long and splendid history.

We have conspiracy cases going on in various parts of the country. They are ever with us. But the time has gone for secret conspiracy. We have now an Open Conspiracy to free this country from foreign rule and you, comrades, and all our countrywomen are invited to join it. But the rewards that are in store for you are suffering and prison and, it may be, death. But you shall also have the satisfaction that you have done your little bit for India, the ancient but ever young, and have helped a little in the liberation of humanity from its present bondage.

II

Pious British Platitudes

(Bombay, June 26 1946)

How a National Government might have avoided a tragedy like the Bengal famine and by securing the co-operation of the people, have provided an efficient administration, was described by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in an exclusive interview with Globe on Sunday.

Pandit Nehru also described the sort of New World Order which could result from the present international upheaval, and the part that India might play in free co-operation with all other countries.

He deplored the complete lack of attention which the British people as a whole paid to India, spoke of occasional pious platitudes that were ladled out to all the major political parties, and expressed surprise at what he called the " colossal ignorance and amazing insansitiveness to the dominant feelings of India" which was exhibited.

The whole conception lying behind the India Office should go, he declared and pointed out that no big problem could ultimately be solved without full co-operation between the people and the Government of the country.

"What would have happened if some settlement had been arrived at at the time of the Cripps Officer, it is difficult to say definitely," said Pt. Nehru. "But I think it is pretty clear that any such settlement would have led not only to a greater sensitiveness to the various problems affecting the people, especially the food problem, but also to a greater efficiency and co-ordination in dealing with them.

"What the Bengal famine has shown is a complete collapse of both the Central and Provincial Governments as well as the executive services in regard to the food situation. As the official report has shown this was completely ignored for a long time and then wrong directions were issued and then the directions were changed repeatedly and complete confusion prevailed.

"It is quite inconceivable that any other arrangement of Government could have failed quite so miserably as the Government arrangements did in 1943. Apart from the failure of Governmental apparatus, certain psychological reactions leading to a moral decay and disruption of official apparatus have been very evident.

"No big problem can ultimately be solved without full co-operation between the people and the Government of the country. Instead of this co-operation there was hostility and conflict. Obviously, if a National Government had been formed in 1942 there would have been a great deal of co-operation with the people and a constant desire to remove anything that caused them distress.

"I am quite convinced that the Bengal famine in those circumstances would have either been avoided or at any rate very greatly minimised."

Mr. Nehru did not attach very much importance to the appointment of a British High Commisioner in India, although this, he said, might be a slight improvement.

"Nor does it matter," he said, "what kind of a signboard is put up outside the India Office. The real thing is that the whole conception lying behind the India Office should go."

Turning to India's part in the New World Order which could result from the upheavals of the present, Mr. Nehru said: "One of the fundamental problems of the day everywhere is how to co-ordinate the two conceptions of a central socialised organisation of society and the state with the greatest amount of individual freedom.

"Both aspects are important. I have no doubt that in the modern world the New World Order will have every large elements of Socialism as its basis. I, hope, however, that individual freedom will also be preserved in a large measure.

"Possibly, in the transition period and the upheavals that are taking place there will be many difficulties in this co-ordination.

"So far as India is concerned, I should like her to keep this in view and to co-operate with all other nations in achieving such a world order which, while developing international activities on an ever wider scale, would not interfere with the individual genius and freedom of the various peoples and countries."

Mr. Nehru gave as his brief formula for the preservation of peace in the post-war world, "the elimination, as far as possible, of political and economic conflicts between countries and an equitable international order to organise international relations.

"It is obviously essential," he pointed out, "that such an order be based on the national freedom of various countries involved, and that no country should have a sense of alien domination and suppression.

"It seems also necessary that some kind of International Police Force be organised, but there is grave danger of such a Force being exploited by the dominant Powers to their own advantage. Realities have to be faced to-day, and the reality is the outstanding position of some great Powers.

"I think it would have been better, from every point of view, to give a far bigger status to the smaller powers in any international settlement. Otherwise, the small Powers in fear and self-defence, will group themselves around each Big Power and big and hostile blocs might face each other."

Asked in view of the imminent general election in Britain what be expected of British Labour, Mr. Nehru said: "The British Labour Party does represent various progressive forces in Britain and, therefore, I wish it success in the elections. But under the present leadership that Party means just nothing to India. It surprises me how the leaders of that party make references to India which exhibit not only colossal ignorance of this country but an amazing insensitiveness to the dominant feelings of India."

Mr. Nehru said that he knew that many people in Britain, both among the intellectuals and the working classes, had great sympathy for Indian freedom. "But it must be obvious," he added, "that as a whole the British people pay no attention whatever to India, except in so far as they give expression occasionally to pious platitudes.

"This applies to all the major parties and certainly to their leaders," he declared.

ATOMIC BOMB

On the atomic bomb Pandit Nehru had a scientist's outlook. Long ago he had taken degree in science and had studied physics before the present development with the atom. He was fascinated with the theory that almost anything could be made radio-active. In the spare moments of a politician's life he had tried to read science and was greatly interested in the atomic bomb. The discovery has released tremendous forces in the world which could be used for good or evil. For the time being it had been used only to destroy cities and kill people. There was now a race in this world between construction forces and destruction forces.

Since the last generation that race had become more and more frantic and with the coming of the atomic bomb, it looked as though one of them must win. Which would win he could not say. I am not interested in the destruction of men in the world but there is no good making a fuss about it, he said. It could not be kept a secret for long and in fact most of the advanced countries were on the verge of discovering it. Undoubtedly they would have it and use it if the war came again. That meant tremendous destruction. From a humanitarian point of view he would enquire into the basic cause. It was a very grave responsibility for any country that used atom bombs. A very great responsibility rests with the United States. It justified the use of atomic bomb on the ground that it stopped war but by unleasing such a weapon it had created a dangerous situation. The atomic bomb brought a measure of hope also. Faced with such a destructive weapon, people might wake up.

Asked if the future Government of India would have atomic bombs in their armoury Pandit Nehru said that so long as the world was constituted as it was, every country would have to devise and use the latest scientific devices for its protection. He had no

doubt India would develop her scientific researches and hoped Indian scientist would use the atomic force for constructive purposes. But if India was threatened, she would inevitably try to defend herself by all means at her disposal. He hoped India, in common with other countries, would prevent the use of atomic bombs.

III

Effective World Organisation Needed

(Simla, July 11, 1945)

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru told an Associated Press reporter in an exclusive interview that his opposition to Nazism and Fascism had not undergone any change during the last three years of his prison life.

"Nazism and Fascism", Pandit Nehru said, "are two politics which are immensely dangerous to any country and to the world at large. I am as firmly opposed to them as ever before. The mere fact of Nazis as such having disappeared from Germany does not affect one's reactions. It might grow again in any country other than Germany under some other name.

Pandit Nehru was not inclined to be drawn into a discussion of current Indian affairs.

Answering a question on Russian neutrality in the war against Japan, Pandit Nehru said, "Fascism and Nazism have nothing to do with the war against Japan in the technical sense of the world. Japan is a militarist and aggressive nation. Her militarism and aggression have got to be checked. As for the policies of various countries the Pandit said they are no doubt the result of numerous factors. There was no question of one country entering a war of crusade for the sake of high principles, ignoring many other factors. It is, presumptuous for me to judge Russian or any other country's attitude. It is for them to decide. In spite of every sympathy for the so-called democratic countries, that is for England and France, when German war broke out, America did not join it because of various internal and other factors till she was compelled to do so by the Japanese attack".

"If you want to check aggression and militarism you must have super-aggression and militarism and who is there to check the latter?" the interviewer asked.

"Of course there is always the danger of a new militarism growing up in the act of suppressing an existing militarism," Pandit Nehru replied. "The only possible way of eliminating this is by the creation of an effective world organisation. How far the efforts in this direction will succeed in the near future, it was difficult to say," concluded Pandit Nehru.

IV

Potsdam Poachers

(Sopore, August 4, 1946)

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in an interview to "Associated Press" special correspondent said:

"The Potsdam decision in regard to Germany, though intended to ensure peace in Europe, are not likely to have this result. The German militarists had to be destroyed and the possibility of future aggression prevented, but it seems to me that the way adopted will only lead to temporary and enforced peace; behind which will be motives of revenge, continuous attempts to break through the agricultural spell which is being made to encase Germany.

"I cannot imagine a highly developed industrial people like Germany to exist for long as a backward agricultural community nor can I image an economic equilibrium being established in Europe on this basis.

"Revenge and hatred can never be the foundation of a stable peace. I am afraid these proposals will be as temporary in their applications as the treaty of Versailles. If militarism is to be destroyed, it is not enough to end it in Germany as above. That will simply mean a transfer of militarism and the aggressive spirit to other counties. Any partial and enforced solution can be no solution and will only lead to future conflicts.

"For this moment the "Big Three" are deciding those vital issues because they are the dominant best but it must be remembered that the other countries are not necessarily in agreement with these decisions. Certainly India has neither been consulted nor has agreed to them and though India's voice may be powerless to-day it will not remain so. I hope whatever influence India possesses in future will be used to evolve more stable conditions of world peace and freedom".

Pandit Nehru said that it had been his long-held opinion that in Indian States there must be full responsible government. And of all the States, Kashmir was entitled to it at the earliest.

He paid a tribute to the work of the Kashmir National Conference and its leader, Sheikh Abdullah, and said that its foundation was sound as its doors were open to all communities for there alone the Kashmiris could build the edifice they aspire for.

He said that, unfortunately there were enough barriers already between them and any organisation which created new barriers and accentuated bitterness only weakens the people.

He said that only selfish men guided by thought of temporary advantage offered conditions for joining the freedom movement. "This is merely a pretext for keeping away from it. Essentially they have no interest in freedom."

V

Political Friendship

(London, February 10, 1946.)

" Of course I expect a peaceful and friendly settlement with Britain. If such a settlement is reached, India's relations with great Britain will naturally be closed, as there are so many ties already developed between our two peoples, some good, many bad," said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in an exclusive interview to Mr. D. V. Tahmankar, who is touring India as a special correspondent and whose despatch was prominently published in to-day's " Reynolds News," an influential socialist Sunday paper.

" But," pointed out Pandit Nehru, "such friendly relations can only grow between independent countries which can co-operate with each other, otherwise the past will pursue us and poison our relations."

Asked if he would be agreeable to accept Dominion Status with the right to secede, Pandit Nehru said : " No, from no point of view can India fit into Dominion Status pattern."

Regarding India's relations with other nations Pandit Nehru stated : " Days of national isolation have gone for ever. It is clear from the point of view of defence and future progress in industry, trade and communications that the mutual good relations of the countries of Middle East as well as of South East Asia will largely depend on India. In this I include Australia and New Zealand."

Pandit Nehru added : " I firmly believe that China will be in the near future a strong powerful State closely associated with India and playing an important part in the Pacific region."

Pandit Nehru envisaged special relations with the United States and Soviet Union and said, " Russia being a neighbour, we shall presumably have closer contact. The United States can play a great part in India's industrial development.

Referring to the plea that Britain wanted to transfer power to India but did not know to whom to give it Pandit Nehru said : " A clear declaration of the recognition of India's independence is vital for any constitutional solution of Indian problems. Transfer should be made to Indian representatives or the constitution-making body which will come into existence after the provincial elections. The constitution which this body will frame must be accepted as final."

For the interim period while the constitution is being made Pandit Nehru envisaged a Centre " as responsible as possible " to carry on the administration with the help of the democratic conventions and without Viceroy's veto.

On the issue of Pakistan Pandit Nehru said, " Pakistan cannot be discussed in the present atmosphere. Mr. Jinnah's demand is completely impossible." He, however, assured that the Muslims and other minorities had been offered by the Congress all kinds of safeguards, cultural, judiciary and others.

VI

Free India For All

In a letter to the " Hindu " on July 21 Mr. Percy MacQueen referred to Mr. Deshmukh's speech made recently in South Africa in which the latter had said : "I feel that it is not sufficiently realised that Indian intellectual leaders are not guided by racial antagonism. There is no hostility to Europeans in India." This statement, Mr. MacQueen, in his letter, says, compares strangely with the remarks made by Pandit Nehru at Lahore on July 17. Pandit Nehru had said that no doubt the Nazis of Germany were very brutal but to match their deeds, one could find quite a good many of the British in India. Mr. MacQueen says that this, it may be noted, is not a charge which can be evaded by saying that it applies to the Government and not the British community, nor is it a comment which might possibly be justified in the case of a specific individual in specific circumstances. It is gratuitous insult to the British community in India.

He continues : " Many of us in India, and particularly those who, like myself, are returning to England to retire, could be enlisted as valuable supporters of the Indian cause. Is it wise to insult us ? I should have thought that common sense, if not common decency, would have restrained responsible Indians from making a personal attack. I have no intention of replying to abuse with abuse, but, as a member of the community which he had publicly insulted, I call upon Pandit Nehru to withdraw his statement."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a communication to the "Hindu" replying to Mr. MacQueen, says, "Mr. MacQueen is labouring under a misapprehension. I did not say anything about the British community in India or about Englishmen or Britishers generally. It is not my habit to raise racial issues. Indeed I have always laid stress on the fact that our quarrel was and is with the system of government and not with any particular race or nationality. I have further added that if that system of government continued even after the withdrawal of British dominance, that would give little freedom or relief to India.

THIS UNSAVOURY BUSINESS !

" What I said was that the British Government was ultimately responsible for the misdeeds of its officers, British and Indian, in the last quarter of 1942 and subsequently.—In numbers there were probably more Indian officers of the lower grades involved in this unsavoury business than Britishers. If Mr. MacQueen has any doubt about this I invite him to visit some eastern parts of my own pro-

vince or Behar, or, for the matter of that, many other parts of India, to investigate the matter.

I realise that every government considers it its first duty to maintain itself and to resist and suppress any attack upon it. Of that I made no complaint. But there are certain limits of decency and humanity which no government or its officers are supposed to transgress. All these limits were passed in these past years in India and numerous cases of almost inhumane and atrocious behaviour have come to light. A government which values its fair name should investigate all such charges and punish those who are found guilty. But our present Government is afraid of nothing more than of such an investigation and tries to prevent it.

NOTHING TO DO WITH MY JUDGMENT

" For my part what has happened in India and whatever may happen will not induce me to introduce racial issues in the argument. I came to the conclusion long ago that no race or people can be condemned wholesale and I know too many decent and honourable Englishmen to cast the blame on them as a race or nationality but that has nothing to do with my judgment on what happened in India from August 1942 onwards. None of us who experienced these years or have knowledge of the facts can ever forget what happened then."

VII

Stop The Imperialist Game

(Bombay, March 15, 1946)

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru declared that " Indian opinion, as a whole, will strongly resent any aggression on Iran or Turkey by any power," and added the comment that " the Big Powers are continuing the old imperialist game which already has led to two world wars."

" There are many seeds of conflict and war," Pandit Nehru added in an interview with the Associated Press of America, "and certainly one of the principal ones is subjection of one country by another."

He made his comments in response to questions as to what, in his opinion, might be the position taken by an independent India in the event the Russian military moved southward in Iran and if Russian demands on Turkey were pressed.

He said that " news from the Middle East and from Turkey has been confusing " and added that " there is a general impression in India that we have been getting one side of the news.

" It appears that in Iran there is a continuation of the old contest for possession of oil by rival powers. Iran has become the plaything of these rival powers and there is much concern in India about Iran's fate.

"On the one hand, there appears to be Russian aggression ; on the other, the desire of Britain not only to hold on to oil, but also to preserve the so-called life-lines of the Empire. Rival Iranian groups are exploited by either party.

"Without knowing much more of actual conditions, it is difficult to form a correct opinion, but it is perfectly clear that Indian opinion, as a whole, will strongly resent any aggression on Iran or Turkey by any power."

"The lesson of all this," Pandit Nehru added, "is that the Big Powers are continuing the old imperialist game which has already led to two world wars. They have not learned anything from the tragic history of the past and, if they do not learn soon enough, they will plunge again into disaster.

"There are many seeds of conflict, but certainly one of the principal ones is subjection of one country by another. If one great power does this, another follows immediately for fear that the former may gain an advantage and so the mad race goes on.

"The real solution of this problem must be preceded by a complete renunciation of imperialism and the domination of one country by another. Foreign armies should be withdrawn. Then the United Nations Organization could consider how the world's resources could be utilized in an equitable manner for all countries concerned, for there should be no monopoly on something the world needs."

"Every country, in the final analysis, puts its own interests first in considering an international situation." Pandit Nehru said. Obviously India will be attracted more to those countries, which favour her own independence and progress. "

"Her general policy is sure to be one of prompting world peace, preventing aggression anywhere and helping, in so far as possible, in the attainment of freedom by the subject countries of Asia and africa. She will try to maintain friendly relations with all countries and help in the evolution of a world order.

"More particularly, she will inevitably have closer contacts with her neighbour countries. The Indian Ocean region depends for its defence greatly on India, which is strategically situated in the centre.

"Thus both South-East Asia and the Middle East defence arrangements will partly depend on India.

"It is difficult to say what the international position may be in the future, but the above considerations will generally govern Indian policy."

On the question of whether an independent India would seek

a military alliance with Britain or other countries, Pandit Nehru said :

" We want to be friendly with the three principal powers—America, Russia and England—but this can only be on the basis of complete freedom.

" We shall choose our own friends and cannot accept any imposition.

" It is impossible for me to say what military or other alliances a free India may give approval of. Generally speaking, she would not like to entangle herself with other peoples' feuds and imperialist rivalries."

In answer to a question about the future of India's armed forces and their possible size, Pandit Nehru said : " Presumably India will maintain defence forces and obviously she will try to keep them as efficient as possible".

" The whole question of defence in future warfare is so much in a fluid state, owing to scientific developments, that it is difficult to prophesy about the future."

VIII

Vital Energy

(New York, February 4, 1946)

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru says that the future of India depends upon her people possessing the " vital energy " he has found in the Russians, Chinese and Americans.

Reviewing his thoughts during imprisonment by the British last year, Pt. Nehru said in the January issue of the magazine " Asia and the America " that Americans are a new people, uninhabited and without burdens and complexes of the old races.

The Russians are not a new people, he said, yet " there has been a complete break from the old, like that of death, and they have been reincarnated."

The Chinese stand apart from both, but their vitality astonished him.

If the Indian people have " this vitality", then it was well with them and they would make " good ". " If they lack it completely, then our political efforts and shouting were all make-beliefs and would not carry us far."

" India constituted as she is, cannot play a secondary part in the world", the Indian leader stated. " She will either count for great deal or not count at all."

IX

Capitalism Must Go

(New Delhi, May 17,1946)

The following statement has been issued by pandit Jawaharlal Nehru :—

" During my travels in various parts of India in connection

with the elections and otherwise I have heard repeated reports of the destruction of war material by the American or British authorities. In Assam, graphic details were given to me of this mass destruction not only of the implements of war but also of many articles which are in great demand in civilian life. I myself saw heaps of destroyed material in many places. Brief reports occasionally appeared in the newspapers and were sometimes officially denied.

This morning as I reached Bakshi-Ka-Talao, the aerodome 14 miles from Lucknow, I saw a sight which fairly staggered me. I had seen it before also, but perhaps my mind was otherwise occupied and I had not paid too such attention to it. I saw hundreds of aeroplanes in various stages of destruction, some were still whole and apparently airworthy, some had their wings clipped off, yet others were being smashed up in different ways. Hundreds of Rolls Royce engines were lying there, forlorn and forsaken, awaiting destruction. There were bombers and spitfires and many other varieties of aircraft. I was told that at least 2,000 planes were taken to a place named "Aircraft Breakdown centre."

Near Allahabad at Phaphanow, I am told that 2,000 bicycles were laid down on the ground and steamrollers went over them.

These are just a few instances of the collossal destruction that is going on apparently all over India. What the reasons for this policy are, a layman's mind is unable to fathom.

"Instead of using such articles, large sums are being spent in destroying them. This is sheer vandalism. I think we are at least entitled to some kind of an explanation from those in authority responsible for this, whether they are British or American. In a world, and in India especially, suffering a terrible lack of consumption goods, to destroy what can be used appears almost criminal. If the present structure of society demands such periodic destruction, the sooner that structure is changed the better."

X

Fascism Flourishes

(*New York, June 1, 1946*)

The Council for African Affairs, which is sponsoring unity for colonial freedom rally to be held at Madison Square Garden on June 6, to-day disclosed that it had received a cable from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru saying that "Nazism and Fascism have been crushed in their homelands but their spirit continues. In South Africa Indians and Africans are being treated in typically Nazi fashion."

"We in India stand for the elimination of colonialism everywhere and for racial equality", Pt. Nehru said. "We join you in your demand."

XI

What Woman Must Do

[*This short and sweet message of Jawaharlal to the women of India tells more in a nutshell than other people have written voluminous books to set forth before the public. This precious gem of a speech was delivered by him on the occasion of laying the foundation-stone of the Mahila Vidyapitha Hall at Allahabad on the 31st of March 1928. It is clear that he wants every Indian girl to be a rebel like himself*!]

Mr. Chancellor, brothers and sisters,

I thank you for the honour you have done me in asking me to lay the foundation-stone of the Vidyapitha. I was rather surprised to receive this invitation and I hesitated to accept it. I have always thought that it was the business of the high officials and revered elders to perform such ceremonies. I belong to neither of these categories. I have also found that on such occasion it is the usual custom to utter pious platitudes which mean little. But you are perhaps aware that being a rebel by nature, I am no lover of the platitudes of the bygone age, and it may by that something that I may say to-day will not be pleasing to many of you here. But you have taken the risk in inviting me. I have accepted this invitation partly because I was connected with this institution when I was the Chairman of the Municipal Board. But my chief attraction has been the interest that I took in woman's education and women's rights.

A great French idealist, Charles Fourrier once said : " One could judge the degree of civilization of country by the social and political position of its women." And if we are to judge of India to-day, we shall have to judge of her by her women. The future that we build up will also be judged by the position of Indian women. I must confess to you that I am intensely dissatisfied with the lot of the Indian women to-day. We hear a good deal about Sita and Savitri. They are revered names in India and rightly so. But I have a feeling that these echoes from the past are raised chiefly to hide our present deficiencies and to prevent us from attacking the root cause of women's degradation in India to-day.

I find from a reference to the report of this institution that it was started to give special instruction to women. It was laid down that while man was the bread-winner, woman's place was in the home and her ideal should be that of a devoted wife and nothing more. Her chief delight should be in skilfully rearing her children and serving her revered elders. May I say that I do not agree with this ideal of women's life or education ? What does it signify ? It means that woman has one profession and one only, that is the profession of marriage and it is our chief business to train

her for this profession. Even in this profession her lot is to be one of secondary importance. She is always to be the devoted helpmate, the follower and the obedient slave of her husband and others. I wonder if any of you here has read Ibsen's Doll's House ; if so, you will perhaps appreciate the word "Doll" when I use it in this connection.

The future of India cannot consist of dolls and playthings and if you made half the population of a country a mere plaything of the other half, an encumbrance on others, how will you ever make progress? Therefore I say that you must face the problem boldly and attack the roots of the evil. We have purdah and child-marriage and denial of rights to women in so many fields. Go to any country and you will see bright-faced boys and girls playing and growing strong in mind and body. Here children of the same age are kept in purdah locked up in cages almost and denied in a large measure all freedom. They are married just when they should be growing physically and intellectually and are thus stunted and made miserable for life.

If this Vidyapitha really stands for the progress of our women, it must attack these evil customs. But I should like to remind the women present here that no people, no group, no community, no country, has ever got rid of its disabilities by the generosity of the oppressor. India will not be free until we are strong enough to force our will on England and the women of India will not attain their full rights by the mere generosity of the men of India. They will have to fight for them and force their will on the menfolk before they can succeed.

I hope therefore that this Vidyapitha will be instrumental in sending out, into the province and the country, women who are rebels against the unjust and tyrannical social customs of the day and who will fight all who oppose this progress, women who are as much soldiers of the country as the best men. (Cheers.)

XII

Have Vision of a New India.

(*Calcutta, March 9, 1946*).

One of the largest gatherings in the history of the convocation of the Calcutta University was present when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressed the annual convocation of the University in the Science College premises on Upper Circular Road this morning.

The pandal erected for the occasion in the Science College compound was full with men and women graduates, Fellows of the University and distinguished visitors. The Chancellor, His

Excellency Sir Frederick Burrows, the new Governor of Bengal presided.

When the Chancellor's procession with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, wearing an academic costume entered the pandal, shouts of "Jai Hind" "Vandemataram", and "Inqilab Zindabad" were raised. Shouts of "Jai Hind" were again raised when Pandit Nehru rose to address the convocation. He spoke for nearly forty minutes.

When the Governor declared the convocation closed, shouts of "Jai Hind" were raised by the assembled graduates.

A number of Muslim students' organisations had called upon Muslim graduates to boycott the convocation in view of the fact that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had been invited to deliver the address. However, according to Mr. S.K. Dutt, Assistant Registrar of the University, many Muslim graduates of the Islamia Presidency and other colleges attended the function and received their degrees.

In his convocation address, Pandit Nehru said : " It seems to me that there has hardly been any time in recorded history that humanity has faced such enormous possibilities of change and transformation as it faces to-day.

"It is obvious that the period of history that we have passed through all these 150 years of British rule in the country is coming to an end. It is obvious that British imperialism in India is a faded affair or more or less a fading affair and that India will have to function according to her own policy.

"Have a vision of a new India and Asia and new world before you. I do not know how many of you will see the full realisation of that mission. It is not that I am talking of new India in terms of political independence, for that I take for granted. The immediate problems before India are feeding housing and clothing 400 million people.

"The housing, feeding and clothing of 400 million people," Pandit Nehru continued, "must come through the approach of science, which was called the god-mother of the modern world."

Free India wanted contact with other countries of the world, said Pandit Nehru. In terms of nascent Asia, India would inevitably play, situated as she was, an important role in Asia, the Far East, Central Asia and South-East Asia.

Before the advent of the British rule in India all Asiatic nations had looked to this country for culture, commerce and other ennobling influences. But when the English came to India all means of communication went into their hands and India went down.

To-day, however, there was a further shifting. Asia was gradually coming back to her own after long foreign domination and in this new Asia, India would play a very important part.

FOURTEENTH SECTION

Mission Of India

The struggle of India is the struggle of civilization. Even though British Imperialism has choked the throat of Indian aspirations, nevertheless our leaders have been trying to find utterance for golden traditions nursed in this cradle of civilization. In this section have been brought together significant message of Jawaharlal Nehru addressed to the peoples of Europe, China, America, Indonesia, Malaya, Japan, and the United Nations.

I

Message To Europe

[*Jawaharlal Nehru conveyed a powerful message to the peoples of Europe about conditions in India at the International Congress Against Imperialism. The following speech was delivered by him at Brussels (Belgium) on February 10, 1927. In the fewest possible words Pandit Nehru has summed up the historical background, the current political affairs of India and the titanic struggle of Nationalism against Imperialism.*]

With the greatest pleasure I bring the warm and hearty greetings of the Indian National Congress which has commissioned me to link our national movement with this international united effort to fight imperialism. We in India have experienced the full strength of imperialism. We know accurately what it means and we are naturally interested in every movement which is directed against imperialism. In fact if you want a typical example that will help you to understand the nature and consequence of imperialism, I think you will find nothing better than India. From the internal condition of India, as our President has said, it may be understood in what manner the English imperialism represses and exploits workers. In India you will find a wonderful instance of every phase of imperialism that you may wish to study. Whether you come from China, Egypt or other distant lands, your interests are bound up with ours. And the Indian problem, too, is of interest and importance for you.

I cannot tell you here the whole history of Indian exploitation—how India is maltreated, repressed and plundered. It is a long and very sad story. And all that I can do is to bring to your notice one or two of the most important factors which we have to consider particularly in this International Congress. You have heard of various disturbances, massacres and random butcheries add most of you have heard of the Amritsar incidents. Do not believe that because this affair has given rise to greater uproar than many others, it is in any way the singular and the worst episode in the history of India since the Britishers came to us. They came to us, as you doubtless know, by putting one province against another until they finally established themselves firmly. During the whole period of their stay they have followed the old policy of "Divide and Rule." I regret to have to say that they still follow this policy. The early history of their occupation is one of the wildest and the most shameless example we have ever seen in the history of the world. Even the British historians, who are certainly not impartial, admit that the early history of India under the British rule represents an epoch of predatory war—a period in which free-booters prowled about and committed plunders and robberies in the land in an unbridled manner. **You know perhaps also the event which is known as the Sepoy Mutiny and which took place 70 years ago. It is called so, but if fate had willed otherwise and the so-called rebels had been crowned with success, then to-day it would have been called the Indian War of Independence.** What we have to say is all this, that Amritsar was absolutely nothing in comparison with what took place during the Sepoy Mutiny. But since then such things have been constantly taking place, even to-day random firing is not infrequent. Numberless comrades and friends of ours are detained in prison without any accusation and without any trial. Many of our best comrades in India have made jail their real home, or they are in exile and cannot come back to their fatherland.

This gives rise to a little sensation but the real injury by the Britishers in India, the real exploitation, is much more severe than the shootings and hangings, which occasionally give rise to some disturbance and the systematic method in which workers, labourers and farmers are being exploited had made India what it is to-day. **We read in history, not only of the ancient times, but also of the modern period, of the riches of India. India has allured by her riches the most different people from the different extremities of the world, but now if one goes to India, the most horrible poverty stares him in the face.** There he finds most of the population do not know where they will get their next meal and frequently they do not get it at all. Everywhere one meets these hungry people or these half-fed people. This is the India of to-day. No statistics, facts or numbers are wanted to convince you of this,

that India has suffered terrible economic decline and that if definite steps ore not taken to prevent this process, India will altogether cease to exist as a nation. You know perhaps how a few years ago (immediately after their advent) the Britishers applied the most ruthless methods to render their industries profitable for themselves. In those days, the new doctrine of guardianship over the Indian people was not mentioned, our repression was not less severe but it was frank, we had a ruthless and open exploitation and oppression of all Indian industries. It was bad enough, but worse followed gradually inasmuch as our ancient system of education was destroyed and we were disarmed. In multifarious ways the spirit of Indian people was destroyed and it was attempted to take away from them every capacity for active and constructive work. The conscious policy of Britishers in India was to attempt to divide us. After they have disarmed us, now they say we are not fit to protect our country ; after extinguishing our system of education, they have set in its place something which is ridiculously meagre and which teaches us false history and tries to educate us in the hatred of our own country and in the glorification of England. After all these, they tell us now that we have not sufficient culture to be a free nation.

It is now being advertised in the English Press that the Indians fight among themselves. It would also be noted in this connection that it is extremely exaggerated. It is also the policy of the British to bring about these disturbances and to sharpen them where they are in existence and to do everything to keep them alive. This is the policy of Britain, however much she may now deny it. Now, what is the condition of India to-day ? We are speaking of exploitation. We experience it very fully. Not a single exploitation but often a double and treble exploitation. We have a part of India—the so-called Indian States—where under the protection of Britain the feudal system obtains. Often the English point them out to us and other countries as well, and say, "Look at these parts of India where a kind of self-government is in existence. Other parts of India are much more advanced." But the British forget to tell one thing. They forget to tell us that these States are under their care and they themselves have hindered progress in them. It is the British who first enslaved them and do not allow them now to develop. Consider the case of great landowners. You have here again the land tenure system which in a great part of India is a feudal system and has been brought to us and kept up by the British. It is altogether difficult to change it so long as the British Government is not willing to do it. In the policy of the British Government in India we must reckon even the Indian Princes and great landowners as their confederates, because a free India would lead to the liberation of the former's exploitation. Then again we often see a harmful agreement between the British capitalists and Indian capitalists.

A study of past history and accounts of the last few years will prove that the British world politics is in a great measure influenced by their Indian possession. Who can be deceived for a moment as to what will happen to Great Britain if she does not possess India? There would then be no British World Empire. What will take place in future when India is once free? I cannot say but it is certain that the British World Empire will cease to exist.

From their capitalistic and imperialistic point of view, the British try to do everything in their power to retain their possession of India. The whole foreign policy is to a great extent influenced by this aim, therefore, they must build up a firm overlordship in India. The result is that India has suffered and still suffers. But that is not all. On account of India other lands have suffered and suffer still. You have heard of the last instance of the activities of British Imperialism in India—the sending of Indian troops to China. They were sent in spite of the sharpest opposition offered by the Indian National Congress. I must remind you of the fact—even to my shame I must mention—that Indian troops were often used to repress other people. I read to you the names of the number of countries in which Indian troops have been sent by the English for their purpose. In the year 1840 they went to China for the first time and in the year 1927 they are still going there and during this time they have been used there times without number. They were in Egypt, in Abyssinia, in the Persian Gulf, in Mesopotamia, Arabia, Syria, Tibet, Afghanistan and Burma. It is a horrifying list.

I would like you to understand that the Indian problem is not only a national problem, but it directly affects a great number of other countries, and it is of world-wide interest because it directly applies to the greatest and the most influential imperialism of our time. It is clear that such a state of things is insupportable for India. We cannot tolerate it any longer, not only because freedom is good and slavery is bad but, because it is a question of life and death for us and our country. You, too, who have come here from the different countries of the world, cannot tolerate these dreadful chains which are also a great hinderance to your own freedom. For us in India, freedom is a pressing necessity. But it is not less important for you if we wish our freedom. The noble example of Chinese Nationalists has filled us with hope and, as soon as possible, we wish to follow in their footsteps. We want the fullest freedom for our country, naturally of course not only of the international control but freedom also of making connections with our neighbours and other lands as we wish. Because we believe that this, our International Congress, affords a possibility of combined work, we welcome it and greet it.

II

Message to China

[India's love for China and China's love for India may be compared to the bond of affection that persists between two ailing brothers, sickened and starved by younger generations, in the comity of nations. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is a fervent champion of Chinese freedom as Madame Chiang Kai-shek is an enthusiastic supporter of India's independence. The following statement was issued by Pandit Nehru to prepare the public for a cordial reception to President Tai Chi Tao, who came to participate in Eastern Group Conference held at Delhi in November 1940. This sincere utterance is remarkable for its touching appeal. The reader will realize that Pandit Nehru has a Chinese soul in an Indian body.]: —

President Tai Chi Tao is due to arrive in Calcutta by air from Rangoon on or about November 3, and he intends to spend about six weeks in India. We can assure him on behalf of the Indian people of a very warm welcome for many reasons. He comes as a representative of a great people and of a country struggling with amazing heroism for her freedom. That in itself would make him welcome here. He comes as an eminent scholar, deeply interested in the cultural contacts between India and China during the past ages. We understand that he is particularly dersirous of visiting the historical places connected with the Budhist faith in India, as well as other cultural centres of this country. He comes also on a mission of good-will to this country, and as a symbol of the growing friendship between India and China.

The friendship is very precious to us, not only because of the thousands of golden links that have bound us in the past but because of the future that beckons to both of us. **The present is full of difficulty for all of us and none may avoid this sorrow and travail. But the future that is taking shape in death and disaster will be a future in which India and China are bound to play a great part.** This will be so not just because of the huge collections of human beings which inhabit these two countries, amounting to two-fifths or possibly nearly half of the entire population of the world. There is something much more than the weight of numbers involved in this although numbers may not be ignored.

India and China have represented throughout the ages the distinct and deep-rooted civilisations and cultures, each very different from the other and yet with numerous common features. Like all ancient countries, they have gathered round them all manner of debris in the form of old custom and tradition which hinder growth, but underneath this mess of useless material there lies the pure gold that has kept them going for all these ages. Not all the

degradation and misfortunes that have befallen both India and China have melted this golden love which made them great in the past and which even to-day gives stature to them.

For many years now, and more especially for the last three years and more, China has been going through the ordeal of fire. How can we measure the immeasurable suffering of the Chinese people, invaded and attacked by an Imperialist aggressor, bombed in their cities night after night and made to face all the horrors of modern war by a first-rate power. **London has suffered greatly from bombing during the last two or three months. But what of Chungking that has to face this bombing for years now, and yet lives?** We cannot measure this suffering nor can we measure the determination of epic courage which has faced these disasters and sufferings unmoved and unbent. In the magnificent story of the Chinese people from the dawn of history to this day, there are many glorious periods and fine deeds. But surely the past three years will stand out even in that great record. These years have been years of swift transition from the past to the present and preparation for the future that is to come. The dross and debris are being burned away in the fire of a nation suffering and the pure metal comes out. We, in India, have had our own share of trials and tribulations and are likely to have much more of it in the near future. So nations who are slothful and who have sunk into subjection are made again. So China and India are being rejuvenated.

Both of them have a great part to play in the future; so let both hold together and learn from each other. We welcome again President Tai Chi Tao to this ancient land and trust that his visit will bear rich fruit in bringing the two peoples nearer each other.

III

Message To America

[*The following message cabled to the "New York Times" Magazine of America by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in July 1942 seeks to answer the charges of disunity brought by the British Rules against the Indian people in support of their reluctance to part with political power. After a careful and convincing analysis of the present problems of India, Nehru asserts that Indian unity is not only possible but a dead certanity only if interested interference from outside in her internal affairs ceases to exist.*]

Can Indians get together? It is an odd title yet a significant one, for it tells us much in four words. It gives us an intimate and revealing glimpse into the minds of those who framed it. It reveals to us the premises and assumptions on which they base their consideration of the Indian problem. It displays that patronizing superiority of outlook which we have come to associate with westerners when they deal with Eastern nations. It has something of the white man's burden about it.

Because of all this, I was disinclined to write on this subject, for there is little room for argument or reasoning when premises differ. **Our minds function in set grooves, and if even the impact of a world war with its attendant revolutionary changes does not pull them out from those deep hollows, how much can we expect from an appeal to reason ?**

This war is a stupendous military spectacle, and all over the world armies, navies and air forces clash with each other and seek to gain the mastery. These mighty conflicts already have changed the shape of the world and will undoubtedly still further change the shape of things to come. And yet greater changes are happening in the minds of men, possibly none so great as those invisible things that are affecting Asia and gradually but surely putting an end to the relations between Asia and Europe that subsisted for 200 years. However this war may develop, whatever the end may be, whatever the peace is going to be, it is certain that the Western World can no longer dominate over Asia. If this is not realized and if the attempt is made to continue the old relationship in any form, this means the end of the peace and another disastrous conflict.

Yet this is not realized by those who shape the policies of western nations, least of all by Britain. The France of Vichy, grovelling before Germany, still talks of the French Empire ; the Netherlands, having lost already many of her vast possessions, still speaks the offensive language of empire and endeavours to cling to what is left. The nineteenth century is dead and gone but the minds of Britain's rulers still think in terms of that dead past. That way lies no hope for the world or for the peace that must inevitably come sometime or other. Unless London and Washington begin to think in terms of to-day and of free and equal Asia, they will never reach a solution of the problems that confront them.

That solution lies in accepting the fact of full and equal freedom for all the countries of Asia, of giving up the doctrine of racial superiority, which is no monopoly of the Nazis. It lies in the recognition of Indian independence, which will not only release the suppressed and pent-up energies of a great nation but will be symbolic of a new freedom all over the world.

what a mess the nations of Europe made of this world with their perpetual conflicts, their eternal hates, their grabbing violence and cut-throat opportunism, with the misery they brought to their colonial territories, with two world wars in the course of a single generation !

Not being able to look after their own houses, they presume to dominate over others and pose as their mentors.

But no one values them at their achievements in science, literature or the application of science. Behind all this there is a lack of something which brings their achievements periodically to nought. Asia has looked at this hanging scene with the strength of ages behind her, and the past 200 years, with all their suffering and mortification, are but a brief interlude in her long history.

That interlude is over. A new chapter must begin. Asia is learning rapidly what the West has to teach of science and its applications and is trying to harmonize them with her old-time genius. She has little to learn, much to teach about the philosophy of life and the art of living.

Can the Indians get together? Yes, certainly, if impediments in their way created by foreign authority are removed, if they can face their problems without external interference. Every problem finally will be solved either by peaceful means or by conflict, though this may give rise to new problems. Independent India will solve her problems or cease to be. The past history of India shows us she has successfully tackled her problems and out of every conflict of opposing forces had produced a new synthesis. Synthesis is a dominant trait of India's civilization and history.

Except for China, there is no great country in the world which has shown such powerful unity throughout the ages as India. That unity took political shape only rarely as it could not be stabilized until relatively recent developments in transport and communications made this easy. If these developments had not taken place it is possible that the United States of America might not have been a single nation.

Britain's rule over India led to political unity and also was a means to bring the industrial revolution to India. Development of that revolution was, however, hindered by the British, who encouraged feudal elements and prevented industrial growth. The continuing process of synthesis also was stopped by this rule and disruptive forces were encouraged.

For the first time in India's history, here was the rule of a foreign people who had their cultural roots elsewhere and who could only remain as foreigners exploiting the country for their own advantage. There could be no synthesis with them, and perpetual conflict was inevitable. Yet out of this very conflict rose the powerful All-India Nationalist Movement, which became and is the symbol of political unity.

Independence, democracy and unity were the pillars of the movement. In accordance with old Indian traditions of toleration, fullest protection and

autonomy were promised to all minorities, subject only to the essential unity of the country and to the democratic basis of its constitution. Independence means severance from the British Empire, but in the New World it was realised that isolated national existence was not possible or desirable. So India was prepared to join any international federation on an equal basis, but that could come only after recognition of her independence and through her free will. There could be no compulsion. In particular, India wanted to associate herself closely with China.

There is now a demand on the part of some Muslims, represented by the Muslim League, for partition of India and it must be remembered that this demand is a very recent one, hardly four years old. It must also be remembered that there is a large section of Muslims in India who oppose it. Few people take it seriously, as it has no political or economic background. Americans who fought the Civil War to keep their Union together can appreciate how a proposal to divide the country is resented by vast numbers of the Indian people.

Thirty years ago the British Government introduced the principle of separate religious electorates in India, a fatal thing which has come in the way of development of political parties. Now they have tried to introduce the idea of partitioning India, not only into two but possibly many separate parts. This was one of the reasons which led to bitter resentment of the Cripps' proposals. The All-India Congress could not agree to this, yet it went far and said if any territorial unit clearly declared its desire to break away, the Congress could not think in terms of compelling it to stay in the Union.

So far as minorities are concerned, it is accepted on common ground that they should be given fullest constitutional protection, religious, cultural, linguistic and in every other way. Backward minorities or classes should in addition be given special educational and other previleges to bring them rapidly to the general level.

The real problem so often referred to is that of the Muslims. They are hardly a minority, as they number about 90,000,000 and it is difficult to see how even a majority can oppress them. As it happens, they are largely concentrated in particular provinces. It is proposed to give full provincial autonomy to every province reserving only certain all-India subjects for the Central Government, and this will give every opportunity for self-development in each cultural area. Indeed, there may even be smaller autonomous cultural areas within the province.

It is possible to devise many ways to give satisfaction to every conceivable minority claim. The Congress has said this must be done by agreement, not by a majority vote. If agreement is not possible on any point, then impartial arbitration should be accepted. Finally, if any territorial unit insists on breaking away after the experience of working in the union, there is going to be no compulsion to force it to stay, provided such severance is geographically possible.

It must be remembered that problem of Indian minorities is entirely different from nationalities with entirely different racial, cultural and linguistic backgrounds. This is not so in India where except for small handful of persons, there is no difference between Hindu and Muslim in race, culture or language. The vast majority of Muslims belong to the same stock as the Hindus and were converted to Islam.

Few problems in the world to-day are basically so simple of solution as the Indian minority problem. For various reasons it is important to-day and comes in the way of progress, yet it is essentially a superficial problem without deep roots. The real problems of India are economic, the poverty, of low standards. As soon as these are tackled aggressively, as they should be, and modern industry grows, bringing higher standards in its train, the minority problem fades away. It has been a product of unemployment of the middle classes, who had few avenues of work open to them and looked for employment to the State. As State jobs were limited, demand rose for reservation of these for particular communities.

Every attempt to save the problem thus far has failed because there was always a third party—the British Government. If that Government fades away, the whole background of this problem changes when Indians have to look to themselves. Compulsion of events forces them to face reality and to come to agreement. The only alternative is conflict, which every one is anxious to avoid, over a relatively trivial issue. But even if there is conflict, that is preferable to the present stalemate, and it will produce a solution.

The All-Indian Congress proposal has been that this and other problems should be considered and finally decided by a Constituent Assembly elected by adult franchise. The widest franchise is considered necessary so the consideration of these questions should rest on those vast numbers of people who are far more interested in economic problems and who do not look for State employment.

Such economic problems cut across religious boundaries and are common to Hindu, Muslim, Christian, and Buddhist. If such an Assembly could not come to an agreement on any particular minority matters, they could be referred to international arbitration.

We are perfectly prepared to abide by the decision of such an international tribunal in such matters. But the question of arbitration does not arise over the question of independence. That and the allied question of self-determination must be recognized and accepted before there is a possibility of arbitration over minor matters. On independence we cannot compromise.

Can the Indians get together? I have no doubt that they can and they will. Even to-day there is an amazing unity of outlook among them and whatever their internal differences might be, they stand for independence. The real obstacle in the way of real unity and progress is foreign domination. From every point of view, it has become an urgent and immediate necessity that Britain should relinquish her hold in India and recognize Indian independence. There is no other way and it is certain, that India must be given complete independence.

The approach of war to India has made this an even more vital question. Independent India would treat America and Britain as allies in a common enterprise to release her vast energy and resources against every aggressor who invaded her territory. But Indians can no longer function as slaves and underlings in their own country or outside or tolerate being treated as chattels by dominant foreign authority. Submission to this is for them the worst kind of spiritual degradation.

The East will put up with it no longer. Asia will come back to her own strength whatever travail and suffering fate may have in store for her. China has poured out her heart's blood in defence of freedom. India would do likewise if the opportunity came to her to fight for her freedom. She seeks no domination over others, but she will put up with no domination over herself. Only independence will release her from long bondage and allow her to play her part fittingly in the terrible drama of the world to-day.

(*Lucknow, October 28, 1945*)

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, interviewed by a special correspondent of the Associated Press of India, welcomed President Harry Truman's declaration of the United States policy, especially in relation to freedom for all dependent countries, and said "It is well-known that America was looked up to for many years as a country which stood for freedom. There were undoubtedly other powerful forces at work in America also, but as compared with other great powers, America was free from the burden of an imperialist past. That was a great asset to America in its dealing with other countries.

Mr. Wendell Willkie mentioned this after his world tour. Everywhere in Asia and Africa people looked up to America, but even then certain doubts were beginning to arise because of American policy. Subsequently these doubts gained strength. President Truman's

announcement will help to some extent in lessening these doubts, but obviously mere announcements do not go far at a time when active interpretation of policy is needed everywhere"

SOME DISILLUSIONMENT.

Pandit Nehru continued : "There is no doubt that during the last few years there has been some disillusionment in India in regard to American championship of freedom. At San Francisco the Soviet Union took the lead in championing independence for subject countries, but other powers fought shy of this and tried their utmost to choke it down. The Soviet Union has been usually silent about all such matters, but whenever they have said anything it has been in favour of freedom of subject countries.

Pt. Nehru paused for a while and went on : "At the present moment we are right in the midst of the aftermath of the war and inevitably all the assurances given and the promises made during the war demand fulfilment. Yet we see the attempt to crush with armed forces the freedom movement in Indonesia and Indo-China and in this British forces are taking an effective part. Indeed even the Japanese have been employed for this purpose. The American Government has declared that lend-lease goods used against the Indonesians should have their labels torn off. That is poor consolation indeed for Indonesian. They will be shot down by guns whether the guns bear this lable or that. In India the U. S. A. has kept itself clear from all entanglements. We cannot blame it for this attitude specially in war time, but there has been something much more than this during the past few years—a passive and sometimes even an active support of British policy and British propaganda. We realise fully that Indian freedom will be won by India's strength and that we cannot rely on any foreign power. Nevertheless it is obvious that India's reactions to other powers will be governed by their policy to India. It should be clear to any one that India will function independently before very long and that independent India will make rapid progress industrially that otherwise and play an important role in world events. That rule will be influenced by the attitude of other powers to Indian freedom.

" So far as one can judge American policy in regard to India has been strangely subservient to British policy. That British policy, whatever the profession is behind it, continues to be one of authortarian rule in India, without the least trace of democratic functioning. I trust that President Truman's announcement indicates something more than an expression of vague goodwill. In the world to-day, effective action is necessary if we are to save ourselves from rapid deterioration leading ultimately to conflicts on a vast scale.

"A NEW CRISIS WILL DEVELOP".

"In India to-day, various problems and possibility of a new constitution are being discussed. But the reality is not this legal consideration or even the elections that are to come, but an intense and passionate desire to be rid of British rule and to establish a free and democratic state. During the four months I have been out of prison, I have been astonished at the depth of this sentiment and the rising temperature of the people. Unless some effective solution is found of the Indian problem within the next few months, a new crisis will not be solved by parleys at the top. This crisis will inevitably affect the world situation. In effect the problem of freedom is indivisible. It crops up separately whether in Java or whether in Indo-China or India or elsewhere, but basically it is the same. These must be therefore a common approach to a common solution before all peaceful solutions are ruled out."

IV

Message To Indonesia

(Lucknow, October 9, 1945.)

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, interviewed by a special correspondent of the Associated Press of India on the invitation extended to him by Dr. Soekarno, leader of the Nationalist Indonesian Government in Batavia, to visit Java and inspect the conditions prevailing there said: "I should like to tell Dr. Soekarno that if I can be of any service to the cause of Indonesian freedom, I shall gladly visit Java in spite of urgent and important work in India. **I believe that our freedom in India or Java or elsewhere hangs together and if I can serve the cause of freedom in Java now better than in India I shall certainly go there.** But that depends not so much on my wishes but on the facilities for leaving India and travelling to Batavia by air. If these facilities are available, I shall set aside all the work and go there.

Meanwhile I send my greetings to Dr. Soekarno and to my old comrades Dr. Mohammad Atta and Dr. Sukara and wish them all success in achieving the independence of Indonesia.

(New Delhi, May 23, 1946)

An indication that Indonesia's offer of half million tons of rice to India in exchange for textiles and agricultural implements will soon materialise, is given by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a statement summing up the result of the negotiations.

The following is the text of the statement: "I have refrained from saying much about the Indonesian offer to send rice to India, as I did not want to raise false hopes in the minds of the people. The time has come, however, when we can say with some confidence that this offer will materialise. Dr. Shariar, the Prime Minister in

the Indonesian Republic, was good enough to send me the following cable :—

' Dear Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Will you kindly consider this letter as confirmation of news you read in paper about rice offer of Government of Indonesia to people of India. If you would not be able to grant Indonesian people the honour of a personal visit in order to discuss contemplated exchange agreement, then we should be glad if you send as quickly as possible authorised representatives to Indonesia.

' Indonesians will keep ready for shipment to India a quantity of rice amounting to half a million tons. Every section of Indonesian community gives enthusiastic adhesion to the plan. Transportation to ports in Java is guaranteed. For the sake of mutua assistance between the two nations, we should like to receive in exchange goods most urgently needed by the majority of population, e.g. textiles, agricultural implements, etc. In case you cannot dispense with goods mentioned above on account of Indian people's own needs, we should call ourselves fortunate if we can secure some other exchange. Moreover the goods mentioned before are to be understood as falling in the category of articles of preference. We are quite prepared to consider any other kinds of good that happen to be at your disposal. We assure you that our people have given enthusiastic adhesion to the plan, mainly because we want to show our sympathy with your people by aiding to prevent famine in your country. Sincerely yours, Shariar.'

RICE IS AVAILABLE.

" Since then there has been further progress and arrangements are being made to take full advantage of Dr. Shariar's offer and to send him instead textiles, agricultural implements and other goods. There is no doubt now that the rice is available and the only thing to be done is to expedite its despatch from Java to India and to distribute it properly ; also to send goods in exchange to Java, which they so badly needed.

" I am sure everybody in India will appreciate and feel deeply grateful for the very generous offer that Dr. Shariar has made on behalf of the Indonesian people. That offer came from him unsolicited and he persisted on it, in spite of all manner of discouragement. The terms of the offer and language that Dr. Shariar has used will go to the heart of the Indian people.

HELP IN TIME OF NEED.

" It is the language of a friend and comrade, not out to bargain, but to help in the time of need, even though he has to face a mountain of troubles in his own land. It is by such acts that nations and peoples are bound together. The Indian people will not only feel grateful but will remember this in the days to come.

" I hope and trust that it will be the precursor of a closer friendship between the two nations advantageous to both.

" I hope also that the public of Indonesia will emerge from its present difficulties free and triumphant.

" I am afraid I cannot go to Indonesia for sometime to come, but I hope to go there as soon as I can manage it and circumstances permit, so that I may convey personally to the leaders of the Indonesian people the gratitude and goodwill of the Indian people. Meanwhile, I understand that the Government of India propose to send a delegation from India to Java at the beginning of June to settle finally all the details of this transaction. This delegation, I hope, will be led by Shri Desai, the Food Member of the Government of Bombay."

PERMIT EXPORT OF FRUITS TO BURMA

In another statement Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru says :

" I have received a telegram from Major General Aungsan from Rangoon. He tells me that owing to the great dearth of fruits in Burma, the hospitals there as well as people elsewhere are suffering greatly. He suggests that fruits might be allowed to be exported from India if not at the pre-war level at least in some measure. I hope that the Government of India will consider this matter favourably and permit some export of fruits to Burma. Such action would not only be humanitarian but would also help in bringing the people of India and Burma nearer to one another."

V

Message to Malaya

(Calcutta, March 9, 1946)

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru visted the office of the Congress Medical Mission last evening. The Mission which is now ready to start for Malaya under the leadership of Dr. Cholkar of the Central Provinces as soon as the necessary permit is granted by the Goverment of India, has completed all arrangements.

After a survey of the arrangements Pandit Nehru issued an appeal for funds to the country.

In course of the appeal he says : "I am sorry there has been delay in despatch of this mission to Malaya. Everything is ready now at this end and only necessary permits from the Government and transport facilities are being awaited. I hope this will be forthcoming very soon because the need in Malaya is urgent.

"Such a Mission inevitably costs a lot of money. It is right the Mission should be amply provided with everything necessary for medical relief. I hope the public will subscribe to the funds for the Mission so that our relief work in Malaya might expand."

Pandit Nehru added that demands of our own people in India with regard to both food and medical relief are urgent. Nevertheless the demands of our countrymen abroad could not be ignored. "Help should be given to them generously and prove to them and to the world that India does not and cannot forget her children wherever they might be."

(Singapore, March 18, 1946)

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was given a tumultuous reception when he arrived here by air to-day, three hours later than expected. His plane had been delayed on the way by engine trouble.

Pt. Nehru was received at the airport by Mr. N. Raghavan, President of the Central Indian Association (Finance Minister in the Azad Hind Government), Mr. S. C. Goho, Vice-President (former President of the Indian Independence League), and M. R. Umabhai, chairman of a special reception committee. Major-General B. S. Kimmins, Assistant Chief of Staff, represented Admiral Mountbatten. Representatives of Chinese and Indonesian organisations were also present.

Thousands of people who had waited patiently for Pandit Nehru's arrival greeted him as he drove from the airport to Government House, where he is staying as the guest of Admiral Mountbatten, the Supreme Allied Commander, S.-E.A.C. After a brief talk at Government House with Admiral Mountbatten, Pt. Nehru drove with the Supreme Commander and Lady Mountbatten to Indian troops at the Y.M.C.A. canteen, where he was mobbed by wildly-cheering troops and civilians who climbed on his car. He was rescued by the police after considerable difficulty.

Before leaving the canteen Pandit Nehru spoke briefly thanking the troops for their reception. To-morrow Pandit Nehru will visit Johore Bahru and in the evening will be the guest of honour at a dinner by the Chinese Association.

APPEAL FOR CLOTHING

In an appeal issued before he left for Singapore last night, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that the need for clothing in Malaya was very great. Indian women especially had often to use gunny bags to wrap themselves up.

Pandit Jawaharlal added: "A number of millowners in Bombay have offered to supply bales free for distribution among Indians in Malaya. I asked the Government for a permit and for despatch facilities and they have agreed to give them. It is more convenient to despatch them from Calcutta. I hope owners of textile mills round about Calcutta will also contribute cloth and especially sarees for Malaya. These can then be despatched very soon there. The need is urgent. Dr. B. C. Roy has kindly agreed to arrange this."

(Singapore, March 19, 1946)

The striking sight in Singapore streets to-day was young Indians wearing I.N.A. uniforms and badges with Subhas Bose's picture and Congress Tri-colour. Even a few members of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment were seen going about in the city.

Indian business and residential quarters were beflagged with the Congress Tri-colour in honour of Pandit Nehru's visit.

Addressing a mass gathering of about 75,000 people here to-day, Pandit Nehru said that out of such meetings at which many Asiatic peoples were represented would come "freedom for Asia, freedom for the whole world, and in short freedom for the common man."

Pandit Nehru declared: "Some day every Indian arm will be a strong arm and these arms will fight for Asiatic freedom."

A Reuter message says:—

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru addressing correspondents here to-night said that "the use of Indian troops in Indonesia was very greatly resented in India."

"India" he added, "has always been fully sympathetic with the Indonesian people."

Although fatigued after a day of crowded engagements Pandit Nehru replied to questions for nearly two hours at a mid-night conference.

Asked whether he was optimistic regarding the Cabinet Mission to India, he said: "There are strong forces at work to-day which are forcing England to recognise the freedom of India. Most intelligent people realise that freedom cannot be held back. The possession of India is gradually ceasing to be of profit in any way.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru added:

"It is becoming a burden. As freedom is going to come, far-seeing people are beginning to see. There are several factors in favour of something satisfactory emerging from the forthcoming talks.

"There are two extraordinary problems—the conception of the British people that they possess India as though it were a landlord's state and the economic inertia of the British adminitration in India. The Administration understands the job of collecting money and keeping law and order, but now nothing of that goes on in the world; otherwise what gives rise to famine?"

All the data that the British Government work on concerning India comes from these administrators added Pandit Nehru. Some people have got so fed up with the British Government that they cannot conceive of anything coming out of the British Mission and there are bitter elements growing which it is difficult to control.

Pandit Nehru added: "It is a different matter, however, to say that we will not come to an agreement about certain matters which affect British interests."

Asked whether India would accept Dominion Status, he said India firstly wanted entire freedom to choose and decide whether she wanted to remain within the Commonwealth.

After stating that India would fight for Asiatic freedom, Pandit Nehru said: "The independence India wants is not for herself. You cannot have the world half free and half slaves. If India aspires for freedom, it is in a free world and when India is free, every ounce of her energy shall be used for the freedom of all subject nations. This is true of Indonesia, Malaya or any other country in the world."

Speaking at a Chinese club dinner tonight in honour of Pandit Nehru, Mr. Tan Kah Kie, overseas Chinese Leader, said that the fate of India's 400 million depended on Pandit Nehru's great and wise leadership. Not only was Pandit Nehru a great leader of the Indian nation, but also one of the leaders of the world and as such could play an important part in helping to shape the future of mankind.

(*Calcutta, March 27, 1946*)

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru stopped briefly in Calcutta this morning enroute to Allahabad from his tour of Malaya.

The 'plane for Allahabad was delayed to permit Pa ndit Nehru to make the connection. Weather conditions delayed Nehru overnight at Rangoon in his trip from Singapore.

Smiling but looking tired from his eight-day Malayan tour during which he travelled more than 1,000 miles by automobile, Pandit Nehru refused to be drawn into a discussion of political developments in connection with the arrival of the Cabinet delegation.

Pandit Nehru told the Associated Press of America that he had been out of touch with what was happening since he began his tour. He declined to comment on the statement made at the Cabinet delegation's press conference in New Delhi on Monday, saying he would like to read Lord Pethick-Lawrence's remarks before having anything to say.

Regarding his Malayan trip, he said he found the condition of the Indian workers there "very bad" particularly in regard to clothing. "The problem is most acute," he asserted.

Pandit Nehru said he had formed several impressions during his tour of conditions in Malaya "in so far as it was possible in a few days". He added that despite the number of meetings he addressed each day he did have an opportunity to discuss the situation with several persons.

Pandit Nehru arrived at Dum Dum air-port at 10.05 hours and remained on the ramp until baggage was transferred from his Singapore 'plane to the one leaving for Allahabad which took off at 10.25 hours.

IV

Message To Japan

I am asked by the Japanese newspapers to give a plain advice to Japan, especially what I think Japan should do to gain respect and confidence of the nations. That is not easy for me, for it is always difficult and often presumptuous to advise the other nations and peoples, and it becomes still more difficult to advise those people who are stricken down by defeat and misfortune. Also I cannot speak for the United Nations as a whole or for the Four Big Powers who dominate the councils of these nations. Perhaps I can have some insight into the mind of India and to a lesser extent into the mind of Asia and so I shall say a few words as an Indian.

There was a time when Indians looked up to the Japanese and admired their great achievements. Then there came a time when the Japanese began so resemble too closely to the aggressive imperialist powers of the west and instead of being the champions of Asiatic freedom, their lust for dominion and imperialist expansion led them to the conquest of Asiatic countries. Korea was deprived of her freedom and China in the birth-pangs of new freedom was continually harassed and threatened and later attacked. All this changed India's attitude to Japan and the old admiration gave place to resentment. Our sympathies flowed to China and other countries attacked by Japan.

Now Japan has met with disaster in her imperialist adventure—fate which will befall every nation to-day which aims at world domination. Both world considerations and narrow national interests must induce Japan to give up her old dreams of conquest and expansion. Nor should she think in terms of revenge for there is no end to the cycle of hatred and revenge. The Japanese have shown extraordinary qualities which were turned in a wrong direction. They must now use them to build anew on sounder foundations; they must reject militarism and imperialism and make of Japan a country of free democratic institutions which thereatens none and is feared by none. They must build their economic order on the basis of equality and equal opportunities for all their people and not aim at economic domination of any other country. Thus will they create afresh prosperous and progressive Japan on friendly terms with her neighbour members of the Asiatic family as well as the world brotherhood of nations. Japan has caused deep injury to China both materially and spiritually and therefore, Japan's special task must be to gain goodwill of the Chinese people. Ultimately the peace of the Far East depends on co-operation of the Chinese and the Japanese and such co-operation can only be based on freedom. If this policy is followed by Japan, she will not only gradually heal the deep scars of war but will also cure deeper spiritual injuries caused to herself and to others and bridge the gulf which now separates her from other nations. India and other countries of

Asia will outlive yesrterday's anger and resentment and join hands with Japan in the furtherance of Asiatic freedom and co-operation within the larger framework of world peace.

VII

Message to the United Nations

(New Delhi, January 21, 1946)

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in an exclusive interview with the United Press of America said that if the Axis Powers had won the war, their victory would have been disastrous for freedom and democracy throughout the world. He, however, added that the present victory of the United Nations has thus far been a victory in war only and not in peace.

Asked that if Britain had lost the war, would India have obtained freedom from the victorious Axis, Pandit Nehru said: "It is rather futile to guess what would have happened if history had taken a different course. Undoubtedly, the victory of the Axis Powers would have been disastrous for freedom and democracy the world over. Undoubtedly also the present victory of the United Nations thus far has been a victory in the war only and not in peace. It remains to be seen what they make of peace. While there are some elements of hope, there are obvious reasons for grave misgivings. What is happening, not only in higher councils of the Big Powers, but also in Indonesia and Indo-China, are not emblems of victory for peace and freedom.

"The people, who ran war and ultimately won war, thought too little of the real aims and objects which they loudly proclaimed. Many of them wanted the 'status quo' to continue. But that, of course, never happens and so we have a conflict going on and big problems await solution and real peace is as far away as ever."

Continuing Pandit Nehru said: "I believe that if the leaders of the United Nations had pursued a different course, the duration of the last war would have been lessened considerably and the consequences to-day would have been infinitely better for the whole world. That chance was lost at a cost of millions of lives and infinite sufferings. Other chances are coming now and the big question is whether they will be seized or not and whether they will be considered with vision and judgment or in a discredited way of power politics.

ATOMIC AGE

"The age of atomic energy is upon us and there is no escape from two alternatives—a solution of the world problems based on freedom everywhere and a world order or world conflict and destruction on a colossal scale. To put it in another way there will be either a free association of nations in the world or the domination by one power of a shattered world."

Asked, if he believed in co-ordinated action of Eastern countries—Arabs and non-Arabs in the matters of common interest against the political aggression of Western countries—Pandit Nehru said :

"I am convinced that co-ordination of various countries in the Middle East, India and South-East Asia is not only possible but exceedingly likely in the future. The question of an Asiatic Federation is perhaps premature, but some kind of closer association between these countries is necessary, both for defence and trade purposes. In Egypt in the West and Indonesia in the East, there is to-day a common feeling which is bringing them nearer to each other. For the moment it is concerned chiefly with the attainment of freedom but other questions are looming up in the present-day context of the world which affect them intimately, to some extent jointly. Everyone from the Middle East to South-East Asia knows that India is the crux of these questions, both by virtue of its intrinsic importance and its strategic position. As Wendell Wilkie pointed out, the question of Indian freedom exercises the minds of statesmen from Egypt to China." This closer union of a number of Asian countries will be in no way anti-European or anti-anything else.

"The European aggression as such is fast fading out. All of us stand for an international order and, if proper international order is established, consisting of free nations, there will be no need for any smaller federations. Till such time long oppressed nations of Asia will inevitably seek to protect themselves by holding together as far as possible and presenting a joint front in the councils of the world."

Pandit Nehru continued by saying that "Asia even now is rather ignored in the United Nations Organisation although it is apparent that Asia is going to play a big part in future."

He revealed that he had suggested that a conference should be held by various Asian countries as well as Egypt to consider the common problems. "The best place for this conference", Pandit Nehru said, "will be India which is centrally situated and which in future is bound to play an important role.

"The recent happenings in Indonesia have greatly agitated, not only the people of India but the people all over Asia. What is happening in the Middle East also fills us with disquiet. The problems before the countries of Asia are more or less similar—defence, getting rid of feudal structures and establishment of democratic institutions; development of industry and agriculture and rapid raising of the standard of living of the masses. In the solution of these problems we should gladly co-operate with the rest of the world and take their help but that help cannot be accepted if there is any element of domination about it."

FIFTEENTH SECTION

Latest Speeches of Nehru

Jawaharlal is an ever-flowing fountain of noblest human sentiments. So long as the great hero continues to benefit mankind with his earthly existence, there will be no end of his precious utterances. The book of his wisdom will go on for ever. The following speeches were delivered by Jawaharlal while the Second Edition of the book was in the press.

I

Constituent Assembly

(*July 10, 1946*)

Relating to the proposed Constituent Assembly Pandit Nehru said the Congress had made no commitment.

Asked to amplify his statement in the A. I. C. C. that the Congress had made no commitment in regard to either the long-term or the short-term plan except to go into the Constituent Assembly, Pandit Nehru said: "As a matter of fact if you read the correspondence that has passed between the Congress President and the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy you will see in what conditions and circumstances we agreed to go into this Constituent Assembly. The first thing is we have agreed to go into the Constituent Assembly and we have agreed to nothing else. It is true that in going to the Constituent Assembly, inevitably, we have agreed to a certain process of going into it. Election of the candidates to the Constituent Assembly and what we shall do there, we are entirely and absolutely free to determine. We have committed ourselves to no single matter of anybody. Naturally even though one might not agree to commit himself, there is a certain compulsion of facts which makes one accept this thing or that thing. I do not know what that might be in a particular context. But the nature of compulsion of facts would be not of the British Government's desires of intents but how to make the Assembly a success and how to avoid its breaking-up. That will be certainly a very important consideration. But the British Government does not appear there at all.

SOVEREIGN BODY

When the Congress had stated that the Constituent Assembly was a sovereign body, Pandit Nehru said: "The Cabinet Mission's reply was it was more or less yes, subject to two considerations. Firstly proper arrangements for minorities and the other a treaty between India and England. I wish the Cabinet Mission had stated both these matters are not controversial. It is obvious the minorities question has to be settled satisfactorily. It is also obvious that if there is any kind of peaceful changeover in India it is bound to result in some kind of treaty with Britain.

"What exactly that treaty will be I cannot say. But if the British Government presumes to tell us that they are going to hold anything in India because they do not agree either in regard to minorities or in regard to treaty we shall not accept that position. We shall have no treaty if they seek to impose anything upon us and we shall tear up any treaty if they try to impose. If they treat us as equals and come to terms there will be a treaty. But if there is the slightest attempt at imposition, we shall have no treaty.

"In regard to minorities it is our problem and we shall no doubt succeed in solving it. We accept not outsiders' interference in it and certainly not the British Government's interference in it and therefore, these two limiting factors to the sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly are not accepted by us.

How to make the job in the Constituent Assembly a success or not is the only limiting factor. It does not have the slightest difference what the Cabinet Mission thinks or does in the matter."

GROUPING OF PROVINCES

Referring to grouping Pandit Nehru said: "The big probability is, from any approach to the question, there will be no grouping. Obviously sections will decide against grouping. Speaking in betting language there was four to one chance of the North-West Frontier Province deciding against grouping. Then group 'B' collapses: It is highly likely that Assam will decide against grouping with Bengal, although I would not like to say what the initial decision may be since it is evenly balanced. But I can say with every assurance and conviction that there is going to be finally no grouping there, because Assam will not tolerate it under any circumstances whatever. Thus you see this grouping business approached from any point of view does not get on at all."

Pandit Nehru also explained how provincial jealousies would work against grouping. Firstly, he pointed out "everybody outside the Muslim League was entirely opposed to grouping. In

regard to this matter the Muslim League stands by itself isolated: applying that principle you will find in the North-West zone there is a kind of balance, of more or less even, of pro-grouping and anti-grouping.

Secondly, entirely for other reasons, non-political, non-Congress, non-League, there is a good deal of feeling against grouping with the Punjab both in the North West Frontier Province and Sind for economic and other reasons. That is to say, even a Muslim Leaguer in Sind dislikes the idea of grouping with Punjab, because he fears that the Punjab will dominate Sind, Punjab being a dominant party in that group and more aggressive and advanced in some ways. Apart from the imposed discipline from the Muslim League, both in the Frontier and in Sind, the people were unanimously against grouping because both these provinces are afraid of being swamped by the Punjab.

Asked when the provisional national government would be formed at the Centre, Pt. Nehru said: "I cannot just peep into the future and tell what is going to happen. For the moment we are somewhat engaged in the Constituent Assembly elections. But remember this, that the Constituent Assembly is not going to put up easily for long with the kind of care-taker government that exists to-day. There is bound to be conflict between them. In fact, the care-taker government has no stability, nor is there any possibility of its long continuance. How and when and what shape the new government will take I cannot say, it will be just entering into phantasy.

When his attention was drawn to the forthcoming meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council at Bombay, Pandit Nehru said: "Whatever the Congress does is always intended to create new situations. We do not follow other peoples' situations. I am glad that the Muslim League has realised that we have created a new situation. We propose to create many further new situations. What we shall do if the League decides to do this or that, we will see what the conditions then are and decide accordingly.

UNION CENTRE

Dealing with the powers of the proposed Union Centre, Pandit Nehru said according to the Cabinet Mission's proposals there were three or four basic subjects in it *i.e.* defence, foreign affairs, communications and the power to raise finances for these. "Obviously, defence and communications have a large number of industries behind them. So these industries inevitably come under the Union Government and they are likely to grow. Defence is such a wide subject that it tends to expand its scope

and activities more and more. All that comes under the Union Government.

Similarly external affairs inevitably include foreign trade policy. You cannot have foreign policy if you divorce foreign trade from it. They include all manner of things which are not put down there but which can be brought in.

Referring to the question of raising finances for the Union, Pandit Nehru said it had to be done by taxation. "If anyone suggests that some kind of contribution or doles are going to be given by the provinces or States, it is bunkum. No Central Government carries on doles." He recalled how an attempt to carry on with contributions had ended in a failure in the United States in the early days of the American Confederation. "Inevitably" therefore, he added, "any central government must raise its finance by taxation. I cannot make a list now but obviously customs, including tariffs, is bound to be one. In fact tariff is connected with foreign trade policy. It may be income-tax or may be another, I do not know what else."

Pandit Nehru pointed out that the Central Government must be responsible for foreign market, loans and such other subjects. It must also obviously control currency and credit. Who is going to do it, if not the Centre. You cannot allow each unit or province to carry on a separate type of credit and foreign policy.

NEED OF OVERALL POWER

"Suppose there is trouble between the Provinces or States, or an economic-breakdown due to famine conditions, the Centre comes in again, inevitably. However limited the Centre might be, you cannot help the Centre having wide powers, because the past few years have shown that if there were no central authority, the conditions would have been far worse in India. However, the fact that there has been a central authority has not done much good to the country, because it has been incompetent. It is obvious, that without the central authority, you cannot deal with problems mentioned above. There must be some overall power to intervene in rare crisis, breakdown of the administration, or economic breakdown or famine. The scope of the Centre, even though limited inevitably grows, because it cannot exist otherwise. Though some people might oppose this broadening of the Centre, the Constituent Assembly will have to decide on the point.

When a correspondent suggested, that the Congress should launch on a direct action against the Portuguese administration in Goa, Pandit Nehru said: "I do not think it will be necessary for anybody to start any kind of direct action, because the

Portuguese administration will disappear, once the British Power disappears from India."

II

How to Fight Gangsters

(August 26, 1946)

Following is the full text of Pandit Nehru's statement:—"Calcutta has been a terrible lesson, and the horror and fearful tragedy of the killing and inhuman atrocities there have shaken up all of us.

"The new development of violence, involving stabbing, arson and looting, chiefly in cities, obviously cannot be tolerated or else all organised life would become impossible. It has become a challenge to every decent instinct of humanity and it should be treated as such. What has led up to this, the incitements to violence, the direct invitations to the shedding of blood, is worthy of inquiry so that effective action may be taken. For the present, we are concerned with the immediate steps to be taken. It is well to remember, however, that during the past 26 years of repeated conflict on an intensive and mass scale between the nationalist movement and the British power in India, nothing of this kind has happened. A very few regrettable incidents have occurred, but in spite of high passion and deep feeling, our movement has been carried on at a high level of peaceful and decent behaviour, even towards our opponents. It is well to compare this with recent events.

In the present then, what are we to do? The responsibility for maintaining peace and order must necessarily fall on the Government and its police forces. But every citizen has also a certain responsibility and in a crisis like this it is an obligation for every citizen to discharge this responsibility. For the conflict is between ordinary decency and bestial behaviour. When such conflicts occurred, there is always danger of even decent persons being swept away by passions and sinking to low levels. We cannot permit this, or else there would be no hope for India. Inevitably, when one is attacked, there has to be self-defence and organised defence by the police as well as by the people. Anti-social and gangster elements can never be allowed to dominate a situation. This requires co-operation between the people and the police and a spirit of accommodation between them so that such anti-social elements might be isolated and dealt with adequately.

It has been the usual practice, when a communal riot occurs, a peace committee is formed, consisting often of some of the very elements that have caused trouble. Such peace committees may be useful but their utility is not enhanced by the presence of these elements. Trouble-makers do not easily transform themselves into messengers of peace and goodwill. It is more necessary for the average citizens to organise themselves so as to prevent trouble, or nip it in the bud as soon as it begins.

III

The Assumption of Office

(*September 1, 1946*).

On the eve of taking office, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru says :—

"During the last few days, I have received a thousand telegrams of greeting and good wishes on the formation of the provisional Government. They have come from old friends and comrades and from many whom I do not know. They have come not only from every corner of India, but also from various countries of Asia, Europe, America and Africa. They have come from Indians scattered all over the world, often in distant lands very far from the motherland, and yet joined to her by invisible bonds that cannot break. They have come from foreign comrades and friends who look upon India's freedom as a mighty step towards Asia's freedom and world peace.

'I am deeply grateful for all these good wishes and I am sorry I cannot acknowledge them separately.

I feel in no mood to congratulate myself or others for we have yet to reach our goal and the path is still difficult. Though I am not used to prayer, it is in a prayerful mood that I approach thit task fervently hoping for the co-operatian of all my countrymen in facing the difficulties ahead.

"I regret deeply that the Muslim League has for the moment chosen a different path. I shall continue to hope for its co-operation and the door for it will always be open.

'For, this business concerns us all and we would be unworthy of the peoples' confidence if we functioned in a narrow way seeking the good of particular groups or parties and forgetting the larger good of the nation.

"My colleagues and I go forward as Indians thinking of India, working for India's freedom and the emancipation of her masses.

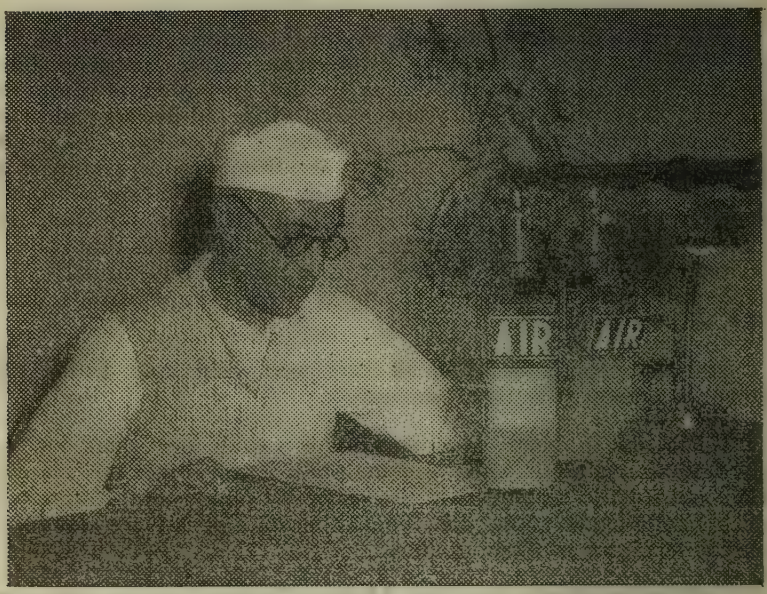
"If we forget this at any time, then we shall have failed in our endeavour.

"Destiny has conspired to test us in new ways and we have answered this call of destiny with courage and faith in India's future. The dream of her freedom that has inspired us for so long beckons to us again, and seems nearer to realisation. May we prove worthy servants of India and her people—Jai Hind."

IV

A Broadcast to the Nation

(September 7, 1946)



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru Broadcasting to the Nation.

Following is the text of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru's broadcast :--

Friends and comrades—Jai Hind : Six days ago my colleagues and I sat on the chairs of high office in the Government of India. A new Government came into being in this ancient land, the Interim or Provisional Government we called it, the stepping-stone to the full independence of India.

Many thousands of messages of greetings and good wishes came to us from all parts of the world and from every nook and corner of India. And yet we asked for no celebration of this historic event and even restrained our peoples' enthusiasm. For we wanted them to realize that we were yet on the march and the goal had still to be reached. There are many difficulties and obstacles on the way and our journey's end might not be so near as people thought. Any weakness now, any complacency would be fatal to our cause.

Our hearts were heavy also with the terrible tragedy of Calcutta and because of the insensate strife of brother againt brother. The freedom we had envisaged and for which we had laboured, through generations of trial and suffering, was for all the people of India, and not for one group or class or the followers of one religion.

We aimed at a co-operative commonwealth in which all would be equal sharers in opportunity and in all things that give meaning and value to life. Why then this strife, this fear and suspicion of each other?

I speak to you to-day not much of high policy or our programme for the future—that will have to wait a while, but to thank you for the love and affection which you have sent us in such abundant measure. That affection and spirit of co-operation are always welcome but they will be needed more than ever in the difficult days ahead of us. A friend sent me the following message :—" **May you weather every storm, first pilot of the ship of state, Bon voyage.**" **A cheering message but there are many storms ahead and our ship of State is old and battered and slow-moving and unsuited to this age of swift change. It will have to be scrapped and give place to another.**

FUTURE ALREADY TAKING SHAPE

But, however, old the ship and however feeble the pilot, when there are so many millions of willing hearts and hands to help, we can brave the high seas and face the future with confidence.

This future is already taking shape and India, this old and dear land of ours, is finding herself again through travail and suffering. She is youthful again with the bright eyes of adventure, and with faith in herself and her mission. For long years she had been narrowly confined and had lost herself in brooding. But now she looks out on the wide world and holds out her hands in friendship to the other peoples of the world, even though that world may still be full of conflict and thoughts of war.

PART OF LARGER SCHEME

The interim National Government is part of a larger scheme which includes the Constituent Assembly which will meet soon to give shape to the constitution of free and independent India. It is because of this expectation of an early realisation of full independence that we have entered this Government, and we propose to function so as progressively to achieve that independence in action, both in our domestic affairs and our foreign relations. We shall take full part in international conferences as a free nation. with our own policy and not merely as a satellite of another nation. We hope to develop close and direct contacts with other nations and to co-operate with them in the furtherance of world peace and freedom.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL

We propose, as far as possible, to keep away from the power politics of groups, aligned against one another, which have

led in the past to world wars and which may again led to disasters on an even vaster scale. We believe that peace and freedom are indivisible and the denial of freedom anywhere must endanger freedom elsewhere and lead to conflict and war. We are particularly interested in the emancipation of colonial and dependent countries and peoples, and in the recognition in theory and practice of equal opportunities for all races. We repudiate utterly the Nazi doctrine of racialism, wheresoever and in whatever form it may be practised. We seek no dominion over others and we claim no privileged position over other peoples. But we do claim equal and honourable treatment for our people wherever they may go, and we cannot accept any discrimination against them.

The world, in spite of its rivalries and hatreds and inner conflicts, moves inevitably towards closer co-operation and the building up of a World Commonwealth. It is this one world that free India will work, a world in which there is the free co-operation of free peoples and no class or group exploits another.

In spite of our past history of conflict, we hope that an independent India will have friendly and co-operative relations with England and the countries of the British Commonwealth.

But it is well to remember what is happening in one part of the Commonwealth to-day, in South Africa racialism is the state doctrine and people are putting up a heroic struggle against the tyranny of a racial minority. If this racial doctrine is going to be tolerated it must inevitably lead to vast conflicts and world disaster.

GREETINGS TO U.S.A. AND SOVIET UNION

We send our greetings to the people of the United States of America to whom destiny has given a major role in international affairs. We trust this tremendous responsibility will be utilised for the furtherance of peace and human freedom everywhere. To that other great nation of the modern world, the Soviet Union, which also carries a vast responsibility for shaping world events, we send greetings. They are neighbours in Asia and inevitably we shall have to undertake many common tasks and have much to do with each other.

We are of Asia and the peoples of Asia are nearer and closer to us than others. India is so situated that she is the pivot of western, southern and south-east Asia. In the past her culture flowed to all these countries and they came to her in many ways. Those contacts are being renewed and future is bound to see a closer union between India and South-East Asia on the one side, and Afghanistan, Iran and the Arab world on the west. To furtherance of that close association of free countries we must devote

ourselves. India has followed with anxious interest the struggle of the Indonesians for freedom and to them we send our good wishes.

China, that mighty country, with a mighty past, our neighbour, has been our friend through the ages and that friendship will endure and grow. We earnestly hope that her present troubles will end soon and a united and democratic China will emerge, playing a great part in the furtherance of world peace and progress.

I have not said anything about our domestic policy, nor at this stage do I wish to do so. But that policy will inevitably have to be governed by the principles by which we have stood all these years. We shall look to the common and forgotten man in India and seek to bring him relief and ralse his standard of living. We shall continue our fight against the curse of untouchability and other forms of enforced inequality. And we shall especially try to help those who are economically or otherwise backward. To-day millions lack food and clothing and houses, and many are on the verge of starvation. To meet this immediate need is an urgent and difficult task and we hope other countries will help us by sending foodgrains.

An equally urgent and vital task for us is to conquer the spirit of discord that is abroad in India. Out of mutual conflict we shall never build the house of India's freedom of which we have dreamt so long. All of us in this land have to live and work together whatever political developments might take place. Hatred and violence will not alter this basic fact nor will they stop the changes that are taking place in India.

SECTIONS AND GROUPINGS

There has been much heated argument about sections and groupings in the Constituent Assembly. We are perfectly prepared to and have accepted the position of sitting in sections which will consider the question of groups. I should like to make it clear on behalf of my colleagues and myself that we do not look upon the Constituent Assembly as an arena for conflict or for the forcible imposition of one's viewpoint over another. That would not be the way to build up a contented and united India. We seek agreed and integrated solutions with the largest measure of goodwill behind them. We shall go to the Constituent Assembly with the fixed determination of finding a common basis for agreement on all controversial issues.

And so, in spite of all that has happened and the hard words that have been said, we seek co-operation and we invite even those who differ from us to enter the Constituent Assembly as equals

and partners with us with no binding commitments. It may well be that when we meet and face common tasks our present difficulties will fade away.

India is on the move and the old order passes. Too long have we been passive spectators of events and the playthings of others. The initiative comes to our people now and we shall make the history of our choice. Let us all join in this mighty task and make India, the pride of our heart, great among nations foremost in the arts of peace and progress. The door is open and destiny beckons to all. There is no question of who wins and who loses, for we have to go forward and together as comrades and either all of us win or we all go down together. But there is going to be no failure. We go forward to success, to independence and to the freedom and well-being of the 400 millions of India—Jai Hind."

JAI HIND!

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